THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM

1599

FACSIMILE

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HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
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OF OXFORD

THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM

BEING A REPRODUCTION IN FACSIMILE OF

THE FIRST EDITION

1599

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WITH INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY

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I

General characteristics.

THE *Passionate Pilgrim* is a collection of fourteen lyrical pieces, with an appendix of six pieces of identical character which are introduced by the separate title: 'SONNETS To sundry notes of Musicke.'[1] The twenty pieces are of varied poetic merit.[2] Many have a touch of that 'happy valiancy' of rhythm and sentiment which is characteristic of the Elizabethan temper, but very few betray that union of simple feeling with verbal melody which is essential to lyrical perfection. Several are little more than pleasant jingles describing phases of the tender passion with a whimsical artificiality. The poems are in varied metres. Nine take the form of regular sonnets or quatorzains; five are in the

[1] The word 'sonnet' is here used in the common sense of 'song'. The musical composer, William Byrd, published in 1587 his *Psalms, Sonets, and Songs of Sadness and Pietie*; but though he tells the reader that if he be disposed 'to bee merrie, heere are Sonets', and heads a section of the book 'Sonets and Pastorales', no poem bearing any relation to the sonnet form is included. No 'quatorzain' is included in the Appendix to *The Passionate Pilgrim*, of which the title may be paraphrased as 'Songs set to various airs'. The 'sundry notes of Musicke' are only extant in the case of two poems; but it may be inferred that, before publication, all the six 'Sonnets' were 'set' by contemporary composers. Oldys's guess, that John and Thomas Morley were the composers, is unconfirmed. Indirect evidence supports the conjecture that a lost edition of the *Sonnets* supplied the music. A poetic miscellany—'Strange Histories' by Thomas Deloney—of like character to *The Passionate Pilgrim* and with similar typographical ornaments, has at the head of each piece in the 1602 edition (unique copy at Britwell) a line of musical notes, which is absent from other known editions. Again, of the poetic collection entitled 'The Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule, by Sir William Leighton' two editions are known—one (1613) giving the words only, and another (1614) adding the music.

[2] The total is usually given as twenty-one, but the pieces commonly numbered fourteen and fifteen form a single poem and are printed together in the 1640 edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*, under the single heading 'Loath to depart'. J. P. Collier's proposal to divide the last piece also into two has been wisely ignored by recent editors. In the original editions the separate pieces were not numbered. Malone, in his reprint of *The Passionate Pilgrim* in his *Supplement* (1780), was the first editor to introduce a consecutive numerical notation.

common six-line stanza which Shakespeare employed in his *Venus and Adonis*; two are in seven-syllabled riming couplets; one is in four-lined stanzas alternately rimed; and three are in less regular metres, which were specially adapted for musical accompaniment.

Internal and external evidence alike confute the assertion of the title-page that all the contents of the volume were by Shakespeare. No more than five poems can be ascribed with confidence to his pen. Of the remaining fifteen, five were assigned without controversy to other hands in Shakespeare's lifetime; two were published elsewhere anonymously; and eight, although of uncertain authorship, lack all signs of Shakespeare's workmanship. A study of the facts attending the volume's publication shows, moreover, that it was not designed by Shakespeare, and that in its production he had no hand.

William Jaggard.

The Passionate Pilgrim owed its origin to the speculative boldness of the publisher, William Jaggard, who, according to the title-page, caused the book to be printed. Jaggard deserves respectful mention by the student of Shakespeare in virtue of the prominent part he took in the publication of the First Folio Edition of Shakespeare's Plays in 1623. He was at the head of the syndicate of stationers who defrayed the cost of that noble undertaking, and at his press the great volume was printed. The enterprise of the First Folio was the closing episode in Jaggard's career. It belonged to the zenith of his prosperity. He died at the moment that the work was completed.[1] *The Passionate Pilgrim* was a somewhat insolent tribute paid by Jaggard to Shakespeare's reputation

[1] Mr. William Jaggard, of Liverpool, who is engaged on a full biography of his namesake, kindly informs me that the Elizabethan publisher's will was dated March 28, 1623, and proved on November 17 following.

four and twenty years earlier. The publisher had just then begun business for himself, and his prospects were still insecure.

Every detail in the history of the enterprise pertinently illustrates the unscrupulous methods which the customs of the trade encouraged the Elizabethan publisher to pursue. But it is erroneous to assume that it was reckoned by any extensive public opinion of the day personally discreditable in Jaggard to publish under Shakespeare's name work for which the poet was not responsible. In all that he did Jaggard was justified by precedent, and he secured the countenance and active co-operation of an eminent member of the Stationers' Company, whose character was deemed irreproachable.

Jaggard's early career.

William Jaggard, who was Shakespeare's junior by some five years, having been born in 1569, enjoyed a good preliminary training as a publisher. His father, John Jaggard, citizen and barber-surgeon of London, died in William's boyhood, and he and a brother, John, both apprenticed themselves on the same day, September 29, 1584, to two highly reputable printers and publishers, each of whom was in a large way of business and owned as many as three presses.[1] Henry Denham, William's master, twice Under-Warden of the Stationers' Company, lived at the sign of the Star in Paternoster Row. John's master was the veteran Richard Tottel, twice Master of the Stationers' Company, who won lasting fame at the outset of his career by his production in 1557 of that first anthology of English verse which is commonly known as *Tottel's Miscellany*.[2] Tottel's

[1] For the details and dates in the career of Jaggard and his brother I am indebted to Mr. Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*.

[2] The full title of this volume, of which *The Passionate Pilgrim* was a descendant, ran:—'*Songes and Sonettes*, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Howard, late Earle of Surrey, and other. Apud Richardum Tottel, 1557.' The book reached an eighth edition in 1587.

place of business was at the sign of the Hand and Star in Fleet Street, within Temple Bar, between the two Temple gates, and there his young apprentice helped him in 1587 to prepare an eighth edition of his popular anthology.

In due course the brothers were admitted freemen of the Company, William on December 6, 1591, and John next year, on August 7, 1592. They were thus fully qualified to play their part in the history of English publishing, when Shakespeare was winning his earliest laurels.

John Jaggard, successor to Richard Tottel.

John's career only indirectly concerns us here. He became assistant to his old master Tottel, and in 1597, four years after Tottel's death, was established in Tottel's well-seasoned house of business, the Hand and Star in Fleet Street. Though he did not acquire Tottel's printing-presses, and never printed for himself, he rapidly made a name as a publisher and bookseller. Among his publications were two editions of Fairfax's great translation of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, and the third, fourth, and fifth editions of Bacon's *Essays* (1606, 1612, 1613). He entered the livery of his Company July 3, 1602, and acted as Warden in 1619 and 1620.

William Jaggard's early struggle, 1594–1605.

William, whose rise was less rapid, was a rougher-tempered man than his brother, and never obtained office in his Company. He began business on his own account in 1594, acquiring premises, which have no ascertainable history, at the east end of the churchyard at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, in Fleet Street. There, for eleven years, he published books on a limited scale. He owned no printing-press, and his operations were restricted.

His prosperous years, 1605–23.

But in 1605 his position completely changed. He acquired a preponderating interest, which he soon converted into a sole interest, in the old-established printing business of James Roberts, in the Barbican. Thenceforth his fortunes were not in doubt. Between 1605 and 1623, the year of his death, he

carried on one of the largest printing businesses in London, and produced and published many imposing folios besides the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays. In 1611 he became printer to the City of London; in 1613 he purchased from his partner Roberts the right of printing 'the players' bills' or theatrical programmes; and in 1618 he issued 'A catalogve of such English Bookes as lately haue bene and now are in Printing for Publication', which he promised to continue half-yearly. The reputation of his press for typographical accuracy was never high, but he violently denounced any authors who were bold enough to complain of its defects.

His first publications.

The year 1599, during which Jaggard produced *The Passionate Pilgrim*, was long anterior to the prosperous period of his life, which opened in 1605 with the control of Roberts' press. Before 1599 he would seem to have published not more than two or three books. The first extant book, on the title-page of which his name figures, was a sermon preached by John Dove at St. Paul's Cross, Nov. 3, 1594, which came out before the close of that year. The title-page stated that it was printed 'by P. S. [i. e. Peter Short] for W. Jaggard'. Next year there was issued a new edition of the pedestrian verse of William Hunnis called *Hunnies Recreations*. The imprint was the same, with the addition of Jaggard's address in Fleet Street.

The Stationers' Company granted no licence for the publication of either of these books, and in fact Jaggard obtained only one licence from the Company before the end of the sixteenth century. On January 23, 1597–8, he was duly authorized by the Company to publish an embroidery pattern book, called *The true perfection of Cuttworkes*, of which no copy has been met with.

Jaggard was no slave of legal formalities. It was the exception rather than the rule for him to seek a licence

for the publication of a book. Though he published several books in the interval, he did not seek a second licence until March 16, 1603, when he obtained one for a work appropriately called *The Anatomie of Sinne*. He faced the risk of punishment for his defiance of the law, and, when a penalty was exacted, paid it without demur.[1]

His two undertakings in 1599.

No extant book which bears Jaggard's name came out during the three years 1596, 1597, and 1598. In 1599 two volumes appeared with the intimation on the title-page that they were 'printed *for* W. Jaggard'.[2] In neither case was the Stationers' Company made officially cognizant of Jaggard's operations. Of these two volumes, one was Thomas Hill's *Schoole of Skil*, an astronomical treatise in black letter, which was stated to be 'printed for W. Jaggard' at the press of T. Judson. The other was *The Passionate Pilgrim*, the imprint of which declared that it was 'Printed for W. Jaggard, and are to be sold by W. Leake at the *Greyhound* in Paules Churchyard'.

William Leake's co-operation.

William Leake's association with the venture guaranteed it against official censure. He was a prominent and respected member of the Stationers' Company. He had joined the livery the year before, and subsequently became assistant (1604) and Master (1618). Before associating himself with Jaggard's venture of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, he had given notable proof of interest in Shakespeare's work. On June 25, 1596, he had acquired the copyright of *Venus and Adonis* from John

[1] On October 23, 1600, William Jaggard and a kindred spirit, Ralph Blower, were fined by the Stationers' Company 6*s*. 8*d*. for 'printing without license and contrary to order a little booke of Sir Anthony Sherley's Travels', and all 'the said books so printed' were forfeited by the Company. The offenders were threatened with imprisonment in default of compliance with the judgement, but Jaggard cheerfully paid his share of the fine on Sept. 7, 1601, and purged his offence. Cf. Arber, ii. 831, 833.

[2] The preposition 'for' in the imprint of Elizabethan books usually precedes the name of the proprietor of the copyright.

Harrison, who had bought it from its first holder, Richard Field, three years before. Leake retained his property in Shakespeare's earliest printed book for nearly twenty-one years. His first edition of *Venus and Adonis* appeared in 1599, in the same year as the first edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and on the title-pages of both volumes figured his address—'the *Greyhound* in Paules Churchyard.'[1] Thus in 1599, a year after Leake was clothed with the livery of his Company, two newly printed volumes, which were identified with Shakespeare's name and fame, adorned for the first time the shelves of his shop in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Peter Short, printer.

The unnamed printer of *The Passionate Pilgrim* was doubtless Peter Short, who had printed for Jaggard the only volume of verse which he is known to have undertaken previously, viz. *Hunnies Recreations*, in 1595. Short also printed for Jaggard his first book, Dove's *Sermon*, in 1594. Short's printing office was at 'the Star on Bread Street Hill, near to the end of Old Fish St.'; his business was a large one and many volumes of verse came from his press. Not only had he printed recently the work of the poets Spenser and Daniel, but he had produced for Leake the two editions of *Venus and Adonis* which appeared respectively in 1599 and 1602, as well as Harrison's edition of Shakespeare's *Lucrece* in 1598. More than one song-book, with the literary contents of which *The Passionate Pilgrim* had close affinity, also came from his press—one in the same year as Jaggard's miscellany, viz. '*Ayres for four Voyces* composed by Michael Cavendish'.[2]

The typographical quality of the first edition of Jaggard's

[1] These premises enjoyed a traditional fame. They had been long in John Harrison's occupation, until at the close of 1596 Leake took them over; he remained there till 1602.

[2] Cf. *Peter Short, Printer, and his Marks*, by Silvanus P. Thompson, F.R.S. (Bibliograph. Soc.), 1898.

Typographical defects and characteristics.

miscellany is not high. Misprints abound. Numerous lines are as they stand barely intelligible. Such defects were mainly due to imperfections in the 'copy', but they bear witness, too, to hasty composition and to carelessness on the part of the press corrector. Few of the irregularities are beyond the ingenuity of a conscientious overseer to remove. In Poem IX, the second line of the sonnet is omitted. There is only one catchword in the whole volume, viz. 'Lord', at the foot of B 8 (recto). Capitals within the line are not very common, but are employed most capriciously. In Sonnet IV, three of the fourteen lines begin with small letters instead of capitals. At V, l. 7, 'eases' rimes with 'there'. Spelling eccentricities which are scarcely to be differentiated from misprints, include —II, l. 12, 'ghesse' for 'guess'; V, l. 1, 'deawy' for 'dewy'; XIII, l. 10, 'symant' for 'cement'; XIV, l. 15, 'scite' for 'cite'; 'scence' for 'sense' (the word 'sense' is correctly spelt VIII, l. 6); l. 19, 'ditte' for 'ditty'; XVII, l. 4, 'nenying' for 'renying'; l. 8, 'a nay' for 'annoy'; l. 12, 'wowen for 'women'; XVIII, l. 34, 'prease' for 'press'; l. 51, 'th' are' for 'the ear'. The volume was a small octavo and the meagre dimensions of the 'copy' led the printer to set the type on only one side of the leaf in the case of twenty-five of the twenty-eight leaves of text. At the top and bottom of each page of text is an ornamental device of ordinary pattern—no uncommon feature in small volumes of verse of the period.

II

Jaggard's precedents

THE part that Jaggard played throughout the enterprise followed abundant precedents. It was common practice for publishers to issue, under a general title of their own devising, scattered pieces of poetry of varied origin. His brother's master, Tottel, had inaugurated the custom in 1557,

and *Tottel's Miscellany* had a numerous progeny. Nor was Jaggard the only publisher arbitrarily to assign the whole of a miscellaneous anthology to some one popular pen.

Opportunities for gathering material for such anthologies abounded. Printed books, for example, novels and plays, which were interspersed with songs, could always be raided with impunity. But it was from manuscript sources that the anthological publishers sought their most attractive wares. Short poems circulated very freely in manuscript copies through Elizabethan England. An author would offer a friend or patron a poetic effusion in his own handwriting. Fashion led the recipient to multiply transcripts at will as gifts for other worshippers of the Muses. There were amateurs who collected these flying leaves in albums or commonplace books.[1] The author exerted no definable right over his work after the MS. left his hand. His name was frequently omitted from the transcript. A publisher, in search of 'copy', recognized no obligation to consult the writer of unprinted verse before he sent it to press. It might be to his interest to enlist the aid of an amateur collector in extending his collections, and to him he might be ready to make some acknowledgement. But the author's claim to mention was usually disregarded altogether. As often as not, both collector and publisher were in ignorance of the name of the author of unsigned poems which

Manuscript verse.

[1] Numerous manuscript collections of verse, which were formed by amateurs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are extant in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and in private hands. Mr. Henry Huth printed for private circulation in 1870 interesting specimens of such collections in private hands, in the volume entitled *Inedited Poetical Miscellanies*, 1584–1700. Some Elizabethans seem to have collected with an eye to business, and to have deliberately handed their collections over to publishers for some unknown consideration. Such an one was John Bodenham, to whom the publishers of *England's Helicon* (1600), *Belvedere* (1600), and other miscellanies of the time, acknowledged indebtedness. Bodenham was hailed in a preliminary sonnet before *Belvedere* as 'First causer and collector of these flowers'.

fell into their hands. In that contingency, the publisher deemed it within his right to append in print what signature he chose.[1]

Evidence of other publishers of anthologies.

Jaggard's fraudulent methods of work as an anthologist are capable of almost endless illustration. A venture of the year in which Jaggard became a freeman of the Stationers' Company precisely anticipates Jaggard's conduct in printing in a single volume 'small poems' by various pens, which were 'dispersed abroad in sundrie hands', and in attributing them all on the title-page to one author who was only responsible for a few of them. A well-known stationer, Richard Jones, issued in 1591 an anthology which he called *Brittons Bowre of Delights*. Jones represented this volume to be a collection of lyrics by Nicholas Breton, a poet who was just coming into fame. The poet had no hand in the publication, and was piqued to discover on perusing it that it was a miscellany of poems by many hands, in which the publisher had included two or three of his own composition from scattered manuscript copies. Next year, in the prefatory note of his *Pilgrimage to Paradise*, Breton stated the facts thus:—'Gentlemen, there hath beene of late printed by one Richarde Ioanes, a printer, a booke of english verses, entituled *Bretons bower of delights*: I protest it was donne altogether without my consent or knowledge, and many thinges of other mens mingled with a few of mine, for except *Amoris Lachrimae*: an epitaphe vpon Sir Phillip Sydney, and one or two other toies, which I know not how he vnhappily came by. I have no part of any of thē: and so I beseech yee assuredly beleeue.' But the author wasted his protest on the desert air. He had no means of redress.

Brittons Bowre of Delights, 1591.

[1] Cf. Wither's *Scholars Purgatory* (*c.* 1625), p. 121: 'If he [i.e. the Stationer] gett any written Coppy into his powre, likely to be vendible, whether the Author be willing or no, he will publish it; And it shall be contriued and named alsoe, according to his owne pleasure: which is the reason, so many good Bookes come forth imperfect, and with foolish titles.'

The publisher Jones was indifferent to the complaint, and in 1594 he exposed the poet Breton to the like indignity for a second time. Very early in that year Jones published, with the licence of his Company, a new miscellany which he called '*The Arbor of Amorous Deuices* . . . by N. B. Gent.' In a preliminary epistle *To the Gentlemen Readers*, he boldly called attention to the fact that 'this pleasant Arbor for Gentlemen' was 'many mens workes, excellent Poets, and most, not the meanest in estate and degree'. Jones' new miscellany consisted of thirty short poems. Breton was only responsible for six or seven of them, yet the title-page ascribed all of them to him.[1]

Two volumes of the utmost literary interest, which were also issued in 1591, illustrate how readily poetic manuscripts fell, without the knowledge of the author or his friends, into a publisher's clutches. Firstly, in that year, Thomas Newman, a stationer of small account, discovering that Sidney's sonnets were 'spread abroad in written copies', put them into print on his own initiative, together with an appendix of 'sundry other rare Sonnets', which he ascribed to divers anonymous 'noblemen and gentry'. Samuel Daniel, the poet, soon discovered to his dismay that Newman, without giving him any hint of his intention, had made free in the

Sidney's *Sonnets*, 1591.

[1] Of each of these miscellanies assigned to Breton only single copies are now known to be extant; they are even rarer than *The Passionate Pilgrim*. A unique copy of the *Bower* is at Britwell, and a unique copy of the *Arbor* (defective and without title-page) is in the Capell collection at Trinity College, Cambridge. Another example of the assignment by an adventurous publisher of a collection of miscellaneous poems to a single author, whereas the contents of the volume were from many pens, is offered by the second edition of Constable's *Diana*, issued by James Roberts in 1594. The printer, Richard Smith, distributed twenty-one genuine sonnets by Constable, which he had brought out in a separate and authentic volume in 1592, through a collection of seventy-five sonnets, of which fifty-four were by 'other honourable and learned personages'. Eight of the supplementary poems, which the publisher Smith connected with Constable's name, were justly claimed for Sir Philip Sidney in the authorized collection of his works in 1598.

appendix with written copies of twenty-three sonnets by himself which had not been in print before; they appeared anonymously in Newman's volume.

Spenser's *Complaints*, 1591.

Secondly, in 1591, William Ponsonby published a little collection of Spenser's verse, in a volume on which he and not the author bestowed the title of *Complaints*. In an address 'To the gentle Reader' Ponsonby announced that he had 'endevoured by all good means . . . to get into his handes such smale Poemes of the same Authors as he heard were disperst abroad in sundrie hands and not easie to bee come by by himselfe, some of them having been diverslie imbeziled and purloyned from him since his departure Oversea'. The printer expressed the hope that *Complaints* might be the forerunner of a second collection of 'some other Pamphlets looselie scattered abroad', for which he was still searching.

Publishers' habit of wrongly giving authors' names.

Further illustration of various points in Jaggard's procedure may be derived from yet two other poetic anthologies, which came out a year later than *The Passionate Pilgrim*, viz. *England's Helicon*, an admirable collection of Elizabethan lyrics, four of which also find a place in Jaggard's volume; and *Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses*, an ample miscellany of elegant extracts. In the address to the reader prefixed to *England's Helicon* reference is made to the grievance that another man's name was often put in such works to an author's poems, but the wrong done was treated by the publisher of *England's Helicon* as negligible.[1]

The *Belvedere* anthology indicates the superior

[1] To the complaint of stationers, that their copies 'were robbed' and their copyright ignored by these collections, the compiler of *England's Helicon* makes answer that no harm can be done by quotation when the name of the author is appended to the extract, and the most eminent poets are represented in the miscellany. As the author's name was usually either omitted or given wrongly, the apologist for Jaggardian methods offers very cold comfort.

importance which the publishers attached to 'private', or unpublished pieces, above 'extant', or pieces which were already in print. The compiler of *Belvedere* claims credit for having derived his material not merely from printed books, but from '*private poems, sonnets, ditties and other witty conceits . . . according as they could be obtained by sight or favour of copying*'. In the case of Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Marlowe, Barnfield, and many other living authors whom he named, he had drawn not merely 'from many of their extant (i.e. published) workes', but from '*some kept in private*'. Of five recently dead authors he stated he had 'perused' not only their 'divers extant labours' but '*many more held back from publishing*'.

Publishers' thirst for 'private poems'.

In christening his volume, Jaggard illustrated the habit which George Wither had in mind when he wrote of the stationer that 'he oftentymes giues bookes such names as in his opinion will make them saleable, when there is little or nothing in the whole volume sutable to such a tytle'.[1] The title which Jaggard devised has no precise parallel, but it does not travel very far from the beaten track. The ordinary names which were bestowed on poetic miscellanies of the day were variants of a somewhat different formula, as may be deduced from the examples 'Bower of Delights', 'Handful of Pleasant Delights', and 'Arbor of Amorous Devices'. *The Affectionate Shepheard*, a collection of poems by Richard Barnfield, which appeared in 1594, approaches Jaggard's designation more nearly than that of any preceding extant volume of verse.[2]

The name of Jaggard's miscellany.

[1] *Scholars Purgatory* (*c.* 1625), p. 122.

[2] The similitude is not quite complete. Although Barnfield's book includes many detached pieces, the title of the whole applies particularly to the opening and longest poem of the volume. Jaggard's general title does not apply to any individual item of the book's contents.

Jaggard used the word 'passionate' in the affected sense of 'amorous'.[1] 'Passionate' in that signification was a conventional epithet of 'shepherd' and 'poet' in pastoral poetry. Two poems in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, which also appear in *England's Helicon*, were ascribed in the later anthology to 'The *Passionate* Shepherd'. Biron's verses from *Love's Labour's Lost* were headed 'The *Passionate* Shepherd's Song', while Marlowe's poem 'Come, live with me' was headed 'The *Passionate* Shepherd to his Love'. A poetaster, Thomas Powell, entitled a volume of verse in 1601, *The Passionate Poet*, and described himself in the preface as the creature of 'passion'. In 1604 Nicholas Breton christened a miscellany of love-poems 'The Passionate Shepheard'; and named the concluding section 'Sundry Sweet Sonnets and *Passionated* Poems.' It was Jaggard's manifest intention to attract through the title those interested in amorous verse.[2]

III

Shakespeare's position in 1599.

In 1599 Shakespeare was nearing the height of his fame. He had just produced the two parts of *Henry IV* in which

[1] A detached love poem was often called 'a passion'. Thomas Watson gave his 'Εκατομπαθία (1582), a well-known collection of love-poetry, the alternative title of 'Passionate Centurie of Love', and the work was described in the preliminary pages as 'this Booke of Passionate Sonnetes', while each poem was called a 'passion'. Cf. the title of the appendix to the love poem *Alcilia* (1595): 'The Sonnets following were written by the Author, after he began to decline from his Passionate Affection.'

[2] Sir Walter Raleigh's familiar verses beginning, 'Give me my scalop shell of quiet', which circulated freely in MS., bore, perhaps with allusion to Jaggard's volume, the title of 'The Passionate Mans Pilgrimage' when they were first published at the end of Scoloker's *Daiphantus*, 1604. In this connexion 'passionate' signifies 'sorrowful', as in Shakespeare's *King John*, ii. 1. 544, 'She [i.e. Constance] is sad and passionate at your highness' tent.' Raleigh was author of 'Loues answere', which Jaggard included in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, in No. xix.

Falstaff came into being, and in the previous autumn he had been hailed by the critic Meres as the greatest poet of his era. It was a natural ambition in a speculative publisher to parade Shakespeare's name on the title-page of a conventional anthology. The customs of the trade and the unreadiness or inability of authors to make effective protest rendered the plan easy of accomplishment. Enough of Shakespeare's undoubted work fell, moreover, into Jaggard's hands to give a specious justification to the false assignment.[1]

Meres' statement of 1598.

A year before *The Passionate Pilgrim* appeared, it was announced that poems by Shakespeare were circulating 'in private'. Shakespeare's appreciative critic, Francis Meres, did more than write admiringly in 1598 of Shakespeare's narrative poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, which were accessible in print, and of a dozen plays, which were familiar on the stage to the theatre-goer. He made specific reference to writings by the great poet which were 'held back from publishing' and 'kept in private'. These were vaguely described by Meres as Shakespeare's 'sugred Sonnets among his private friends, etc.' The productions which Meres cloaked under his 'etc.' are not with certainty identified, but two of Shakespeare's 'Sonnets' strayed into Jaggard's net.

Jaggard's hunt for 'private' poems.

There can be no doubt that Jaggard, like his colleagues in trade when designing a miscellany, made it his chief aim to secure 'private poems, sonnets, ditties, and other witty

[1] It was not the first time that Shakespeare suffered such an experience, and the action of other publishers was even less justifiable than Jaggard's. Already in 1595 *The Tragedie of Locrine* was attributed by the publisher, Thomas Creede, on the title-page to 'W.S.', with fraudulent intent. His surname figured on the title-pages of *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle*, 1600, *The London Prodigall*, 1605, *A Yorkshire Tragedie*, 1608, and 'W. S.' again in *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, 1602, and in *The Puritaine*, 1607. With none of these six plays had Shakespeare any concern. The worthless old play about King John was assigned to Shakespeare in revisions of 1611 and 1622.

conceits' by popular authors which had been 'held back from publishing' and 'kept in private'. He depended for access to such treasures 'according as they could be obtained by sight on favour of copying'. 'Extant' work was not excluded from his piratical undertaking. Eight of his pieces were already in print, but it seems probable that even in those cases he had met with the text in stray manuscript copies, and that he mistook them for 'private' instead of 'extant' compositions. There is no question that he was successful in acquiring two of the 'private' pieces by Shakespeare, the existence of which had been publicly vouched for by Meres. Three other poems by Shakespeare, which he included, were already in print, imbedded in a published play. But Jaggard was probably ignorant of the fact, and derived his text of these pieces also from independent transcripts in 'private' hands.[1]

The contents: Shakespeare's contributions.

On the opening pages of his volume Jaggard set out two of that collection of Shakespeare's sonnets which was not published until ten years later. The two sonnets are numbered, in the full edition of 1609, CXXXVIII and CXLIV respectively. Jaggard's text differs at many points from that of the later volume. He clearly derived his text from detached copies privately circulating among collectors of verse. Thereby, in spite of his insolent defiance of the author's rights or wishes, he rendered lovers of literature a genuine service.

Nos. I and II (Sonnets cxxxviii and cxliv).

Jaggard seems to have presented an earlier recension of the text than figured in the edition of 1609. The poet's second thoughts do not seem to have been always better than his

[1] Two careful analyses of the contents of *The Passionate Pilgrim* should be mentioned: one, by Mr. Charles Edmonds, is in the Isham Reprints—*The Passionate Pilgrime* from the First Edition, 1870; the other, by Professor Dowden, is in the photo-lithographic facsimile of the First Edition (Shakspere-Quarto facsimiles, No. 10).

first. The text of the second, at any rate, of Jaggard's sonnets is superior to that in Thorpe's collection. In Jaggard's first sonnet (No. CXXXVIII of 1609) he reads The first sonnet.

> Vnskilfull in the worlds false forgeries (l. 4) for
> Vnlearned in the worlds false subtilties.

Jaggard's lines 6–9 run:—

> Although I know my yeares be past the best:
> I smiling, credite her false-speaking toung,
> Outfacing faults in Loue, with loues ill rest.
> But wherefore sayes my loue that she is young?

These lines, if less polished, are somewhat more pointed than the later version:—

> Although she knowes my dayes are past the best,
> Simply I credit her false speaking tongue,
> On both sides thus is simple truth suppresst:
> But wherefore sayes she not she is uniust?

Line 11,

> O, Loues best habite is a soothing toung,

became in 1609,

> O loues best habit is in seeming trust;

while the concluding couplet—

> Therefore Ile lye with Loue, and Loue with me,
> Since that our faults in Loue thus smother'd be;

appeared ten years later in the different but equally ambiguous form:—

> Therefore I lye with her, and she with me,
> And in our faults by lyes we flattered be.

Jaggard's second sonnet shows fewer discrepancies with The second sonnet.

that of 1609, and his version is on the whole the better of the two:—

line 8—

[1599] Wooing his purity with her faire pride.
[1609] Wooing his purity with her fowle pride.

line 11—

[1599] For being both to me: both to each friend,
[1609] But being both from me both to each friend,

line 13—

[1599] The truth I shall not know, but liue in doubt.
[1609] Yet this shal I nere know but liue in doubt,

Finally, Jaggard's text knows nothing of the 1609 misprint of 'sight' for 'side' in the important line 6:—

Tempteth my better angel from my side.

Nos. III, V, and XVI—excerpts from Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost.*

The three remaining poems which can be confidently assigned to Shakespeare are all to be found in his play of *Love's Labour's Lost*, which was published in 1598. Other plays of his had been published earlier, but this piece was the first to bear on the title-page Shakespeare's name as author (*By W. Shakespere*). The variations from the text of the play are in all three pieces unimportant and touch single words or inflexions. But such as they are, they suggest that Jaggard again printed stray copies which were circulating 'privately', and did not find the lines in the printed quarto of the play. The distribution of the three excerpts through the miscellany suggests that Jaggard did not know that they all came from the same source. The first excerpt from *Love's Labour's Lost*—No. III—immediately follows Shakespeare's two sonnets. It is Longaville's sonnet to Maria, from Act iv, Sc. 3, ll. 58–71. The variations are as follow:—

No. III.

Love's Labour's Lost (1598)	*Passionate Pilgrim* (1599)
l. 2. cannot	could not
l. 9. Vows are but breath	My vow was breath
l. 10. which on my earth dost	that on this earth doth
l. 11. Exhalest	Exhale
l. 12. If broken then,	If broken, then
l. 14. To lose an oath	To breake an oath

The second excerpt from *Love's Labour's Lost* stands next but one to the first. It is Dumain's sonnet to 'most divine Kate' (in lines of six feet), from Act iv, Sc. 2, ll. 100–13. The different readings are:— No. V.

Love's Labour's Lost (1598)	*Passionate Pilgrim* (1599)
l. 2. Ah	O
l. 3. faithful	constant
l. 4. were oaks	like Okes
l. 6. Art would comprehend	Art can comprehend
l. 11. Thy eye Ioues lightning bears	Thine eye Ioues lightning seems
l. 13. O pardon love this wrong	O, do not loue that wrong
l. 14. That sings	To sing

The third excerpt from *Love's Labour's Lost* is Biron's verse-address to Rosaline, in seven-syllable riming couplets (beginning, 'On a day, alack the day'), from Act iv, Sc. 3, ll. 97–116. This poem is the sixteenth in Jaggard's volume, being the second of the appended 'Sonnets To sundry notes of Musicke', and the sole piece by Shakespeare in that portion of Jaggard's volume. The only difference worthy of record between Jaggard's version and the text of the play is the omission from the former of the eighth couplet of the latter, viz.:— No. XVI.

Do not call it sin in me
That I am forsworn for thee.[1]

Nos. IV, VI, IX, and XI. The *Venus and Adonis* sonnets.

Jaggard did more than include five genuine poems by Shakespeare in order to vindicate his right to place the great poet's name on the title-page. He introduced four sonnets on the theme of Venus and Adonis, which fill respectively the fourth, sixth, ninth, and eleventh places in his miscellany. Thus Jaggard thought to support the faith of the unwary in Shakespeare's responsibility for the whole of the collection. His partner in the venture, Leake, who owned the copyright of Shakespeare's popular poem, and brought out a new edition of it at the same time as he joined Jaggard in producing his anthology, naturally abetted Jaggard in encouraging the notion that Shakespeare was still at work on a topic which had proved capable of making a very powerful appeal to the Elizabethan public. How great was the importance which Jaggard attached to those portions of the volume which brought the subject of *Venus and Adonis* to the minds of readers, may be gauged from the circumstance that, in a new edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* in 1612, he introduced into the title-page the alternative title: *Certaine Amorous Sonnets betweene Venus and Adonis.* But the poetic temper and phraseology of Jaggard's four poems about Venus and Adonis sufficiently refute the pretensions to Shakespearean authorship which Jaggard, with Leake's connivance, made in their behalf. All of them

[1] This piece was reprinted—for the third time in three years—in *England's Helicon*, in 1600. Jaggard's version was there followed, and it may have been transferred direct from *The Passionate Pilgrim*. It is succeeded in *England's Helicon*, as in Jaggard's miscellany, by 'My flocks feed not'. But the editor of *England's Helicon* bestowed on Biron's verses the new heading 'The Passionate Shepherds Song', and subscribed them with the name 'W. Shakespeare'.

embody reminiscences of Shakespeare's narrative poem, but none show any trace of his workmanship.

Their dependence on Shakespeare's poem.

All treat of Venus' infatuation for Adonis and of Adonis' bashful rejection of her advances. The insistence on the boyish modesty of Adonis is largely Shakespeare's original interpretation of the classical fable, and the emphasis newly laid upon the point in Jaggard's sonnets seems to indicate the source of their inspiration. No. IX, 'Faire was the morne, when the faire Queene of Love,' develops Venus' warning against the boar-hunt. No. XI, 'Venus with Adonis sitting by her,' works up ll. 97–114 in Shakespeare's poem, where Venus describes how she had been wooed by 'the stern and direful god of war'. In the two other sonnets (Nos. IV and VI) which open the series in Jaggard's volume, hints have been sought outside Shakespeare's poem, but the reference to Adonis in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* appears to have given the sonneteer his leading cue. No. IV ('Sweet Cytherea sitting by a Brooke') and No. VI ('Scarse had the Sunne dride vp the deawy morne'), in both of which the goddess is called Cytherea and is pictured by a brook, read like glosses on the passage in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* (Ind. Sc. 2, ll. 52–3), which tells of

> Adonis painted by a running brook
> And Cytherea all in sedges hid.

The episode of Adonis bathing, with which the second of these two sonnets deals, is unnoticed in Shakespeare's poem.

Of only two of these four poems is any trace found outside *The Passionate Pilgrim*. An early manuscript copy of No. IX was at one time in Halliwell[-Phillipps]'s possession. It gives a different and very tame version of ll. 2–4. The manuscript reading runs:—

Faire was the morne when the faire Queen of Loue,
Hoping to meet Adonis in that place,
Addrest her early to a certain grooue,
Where he was wont ye savage Beast to chase.

No. XI and B. Griffin's *Fidessa*, 1596.

Of No. XI alone ('Venus with Adonis sitting by her') is the authorship determinable beyond doubt. With verbal differences, the sonnet was already included in an ample collection entitled '*Fidessa.* . . . by B. Griffin Gent.', which had been published three years before, in 1596. It filled the third place in Griffin's little array of sixty-two quatorzains. The textual variations again point to Jaggard's dependence for his version on a private transcript. Apart from such differences as 'the warlike god', in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, for 'the wanton god' in *Fidessa*, or 'she clasped Adonis' for 'she clipt Adonis', the two texts entirely disagree in regard to ll. 7–12. Jaggard presents them thus:—

Euen thus (quoth she) the warlike god unlac't me,
As if the boy should vse like louing charmes;
Euen thus (quoth she) he seized on my lippes,
And with her lips on his did act the seizure:
And as she fetched breath, away he skips,
And would not take her meaning nor her pleasure.

In Griffin's printed volumes of 1596 the passage runs thus:—

But he a wayward boy refusde her offer,
And ran away, the beautious Queene neglecting:
Showing both folly to abuse her proffer,
And all his sex of cowardise detecting.
Oh that I had my mistres at that bay,
To kisse and clippe me till I ranne away.

It is clear that Jaggard did not know Griffin's work as it was printed in Griffin's published *Fidessa*. Jaggard's text was probably a trial version, which Griffin distributed among private friends, but finally excluded from his collection when

he sent it to press. The three other sonnets on the theme of Venus and Adonis in *The Passionate Pilgrim* have a strong family resemblance to that attributable to Griffin, and may well have been similar experiments of his Muse, which were withheld from the printer and circulated only in private.

Nos. VIII, XVII, and XX: Contributions of Richard Barnfield.

Griffin is one of three contemporary poets whom Jaggard may be safely convicted of robbing. He was wise in laying somewhat heavier hands on the work of Richard Barnfield, whose lyric gift was more pleasing than Griffin's. There is no question that two of Jaggard's pieces—No. VIII, the sonnet beginning 'If Musicke and sweet Poetrie agree', and No. XX, the seven-syllable riming couplets at the extreme end of the volume, beginning 'As it fell upon a day'—were from Barnfield's pen. Both were published in 1598 in a poetical tract entitled *Poems: in diuers humours*, which formed the fourth section of a volume bearing the preliminary title, '*The Encomion of Lady Pecunia, or the Praise of Money*, by Richard Barnfield, Graduate in Oxford.' The whole book was published by William Jaggard's brother John, at the Hand and Star in Fleet Street, and there is ground for believing that Jaggard, with his brother's connivance, borrowed in this instance from a printed text.

Barnfield's *Poems in diuers humours*, 1598.

'Poems in diuers humours' was the last of the four parts of the 'Encomion' and had, like each of the three preceding parts, a separate title-page. It was prefaced by a dedication in three couplets to the author's friend 'Maister Nicholas Blackleech of Grayes Inne'. There the writer described the poems which followed as 'fruits of unriper years'. Barnfield's claim to authorship of the 'Poems in diuers humours' cannot be justly questioned.

The opening piece in Barnfield's tract is headed 'Sonnet I.

No. VIII. Barnfield's Sonnet to R. L.

To his friend Maister R. L. in praise of Musique and Poetrie'. This is the eighth poem of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The texts are identical, though in Barnfield's publication capitals are more freely used than in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, while the proper names are in italics and not in roman letters as in the later volume.[1]

'R. L.,' to whom Barnfield addressed the sonnet, is doubtless Richard Linche, author of a collection of sonnets called *Diella* which appeared in 1596. John Dowland, to whom Barnfield refers in line 5 of his sonnet, was the famous lutenist and musical composer, who had published a year before a valuable volume in folio, called 'The First Book of Songes, and Ayres of foure partes with Tablature for the Lute' (printed by Peter Short). The compliment to Spenser in lines 7–8 is repeated in Barnfield's volume in the next poem but one, a piece which is entitled 'A Remembraunce of some English Poets' and opens with the line: 'Live Spenser ever in thy *Fairy Queene*.' Already, in 1595, Barnfield had proved his admiration for Spenser by publishing a poem in the Spenserian stanza, called 'Cynthia', which he described in his preface as 'the first imitation of the verse of that excellent Poet Maister

[1] In a reprint of Barnfield's volume under the abbreviated title 'Lady Pecunia', in 1605, only two of the eight 'poems in diuers humours' were included. Among the omitted pieces were the two poems which figured in *The Passionate Pilgrim*. From this omission of the two pseudo-Shakespearean pieces Collier argued that Barnfield was not their author; that the claim to them advanced in behalf of Shakespeare by the compiler of *The Passionate Pilgrim* was justifiable, and that they were dropped by Barnfield in 1605, in deference to an imaginary protest on the part of the compiler of Jaggard's miscellany. Collier ignored the fact that not the two pseudo-Shakespearean pieces alone, but four other of the original eight 'poems in diuers humours' were excluded from the new edition of Barnfield's volume. So wholesale an exclusion undermines Collier's theory, apart from the internal evidence of poetic quality, which entirely negatives Shakespeare's responsibility for the two pieces in question. Cf. Collier's *Bibliographical Account*, i. 57–8; Grosart's Introduction to Barnfield's *Poems* (Roxburghe Club), pp. xxv seq.

Spenser in his Fayrie Queene'. In the last line of Barnfield's sonnet, the words 'One knight loves both' (i. e. Dowland and Spenser) refer to Sir George Carey, who in 1596 succeeded his father as second Baron Hunsdon. To Sir George, Dowland dedicated his *First Book of Ayres* in 1597, and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe, was a friend and patroness of Spenser, who dedicated to her his 'Muiopotmos' (1590) by way of acknowledging her 'great bounty' to him as well as the tie of kindred between them.

No. XX. Barnfield's Ode.

The fourth item in Barnfield's 'Poems' of 1598 was headed 'An ode'. This is the concluding poem (No. XX), filling the last four pages, of *The Passionate Pilgrim* of 1599. The reproduction in the later volume is again verbatim, save for the substitution of roman letters for a few italics. Although Jaggard here employed a printed text, a private transcript of Barnfield's Ode seems to have strayed into circulation, and that was printed for the first time in *England's Helicon*. There we find a greatly abbreviated version of Barnfield's Ode. The last thirty lines, which figure in both Barnfield's *Poems* and in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, are omitted, and after the twenty-sixth line there is introduced a concluding couplet which is not found in either of the preceding volumes. These two lines run:

> Even so, poor bird like thee,
> None alive will pity me.

Of the twenty-six lines, which appear in all three books, the text in *England's Helicon* varies little from that in the other collections. *England's Helicon* in line 22 reads 'Ruthless beasts they will not cheer you', instead of 'Ruthless Beares', &c., as in both the earlier printed versions.[1]

[1] There was a crude sort of justice in the attribution of Barnfield's verse to another. Thoroughly well read in contemporary poetry, Barnfield had

No. XVII. There is a likelihood that much else in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, besides the two poems which he included in his printed collection of poems, were by Barnfield. At any rate, the seventeenth poem in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 'My flocks feed not,' may be confidently set to his credit. In three twelve-line stanzas it had appeared anonymously with minor differences of text in 'Madrigals to 3, 4, 5, and 6 voyces' by the musical composer Thomas Weelkes, which was printed and published by Thomas Este (or East), in 1597. In no instance did Weelkes give the name of the author whose words he set to music. 'My flocks feed not' again appeared in *England's Helicon* (1600) with the new title 'The Unknown Shepherd's Complaint'. It was immediately

already shown himself an unblushing plagiarist. His popular ode beginning 'As it fell upon a day' secretly levies heavy loans on a poem by a little-known versifier, Francis Sabie. In his 'Pan his Pipe: conteyning three pastorall Eglogues in Englyshe hexameter; with other delightfull verses' (London. Imprinted by Richard Jones, 1595, 4to) Sabie opens his volume thus:—

> It was the moneth of May,
> All the fields now looked gay,
> Little Robin finely sang,
> With sweet notes each green wood rang;
> Philomene, forgetfull then
> Of her rape by Tereus done,
> In most rare and joyfull wise
> Sent her notes unto the skies:
> . . . . .
> Fish from chrystall waves did rise
> After gnats and little flies:
> Little lambs did leape and play
> By their dams in medowes gay:

Barnfield was also a silent debtor to Shakespeare, and in two of his earlier works—*The Affectionate Shepheard* (1594) and his narrative poem *Cassandra* (1595)—not merely adopted the common six-line stanza of *Venus and Adonis*, but borrowed many expressions and turns of phrase both from that poem and from Shakespeare's *Lucrece*, as well as apparently from some of Shakespeare's sonnets, which were as yet unpublished and were only circulating in private transcripts.

followed in that anthology by the first half (twenty-six lines out of fifty-six of Barnfield's fully accredited 'Ode'—'As it fell upon a day'), which bore the heading 'Another of *the same* shepherds'. Though the editor of *England's Helicon* appended to the fragment of Barnfield's 'Ode' the signature 'Ignoto', the authorship of those verses is not in doubt. 'The same shepherd' is Barnfield, and there is no valid ground for rejecting the attribution to his pen of the preceding poem, 'My flocks feed not.'

The text in Weelkes' Madrigals, 1597.

It seems unlikely that Jaggard drew the 'copy' of 'My flocks feed not' directly from Weelkes' volume. Apart from three misprints and minor differences in spelling for which Jaggard's printer may be held responsible (e.g. 'nenying' for 'renying', l. 4; 'wowen' for 'women', l. 12; 'blacke' for 'backe', l. 28), there are textual discrepancies between his and Weelkes' versions which suggest that Jaggard employed 'copy' other than that which Weelkes followed. In neither volume are the words carefully printed, and the sense is in both texts difficult to follow. At the end of the first stanza (ll. 11–12), Weelkes reads:—

> For now I see inconstancie
> More in women then *in many men to be*:

Jaggard reads:—

> For now I see, inconstancy,
> More in wowen [i.e. women] then *in men remaine.*

Here the rime with 'dame', though not good, is improved by Jaggard.

In the second stanza, ll. 10–11 appear in Weelkes thus:—

> With howling *noyse* to see my dolfull plight;
> How sighes resound through *harcklesse* ground.

Jaggard reads:—

> In howling *wise*, to see my dolefull plight,
> How sighes resound through *hartles* ground.

In the third stanza Jaggard's text differs from that of Weelkes in nearly every line. For example:—

line 2, Weelkes: Lowde bells ring not cherefully;
Jaggard: Greene plants bring not forth their die.

line 4, Weelkes: Nimphes backcreping
Jaggard: Nimphes blacke [i.e. backe] peeping.

line 9, Weelkes: Farewell, sweet lasse, the like nere was.
Jaggard: Farewell sweet loue thy like nere was.

line 12, Weelkes: Other help for him I know ther's none.
Jaggard: Other helpe for him I see that there is none.

In *England's Helicon*.

The text of this poem in *England's Helicon* follows closely that of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and was doubtless taken from the latter volume direct or from the same manuscript. Misprints are corrected. The only textual change of importance is in the last stanza, line 10, where 'woe' is replaced by 'moane' for the sake of the rime with 'none' in the concluding line.

The text of Harl. MS. 6910.

The poem was clearly very popular, and was constantly copied in 'private' commonplace books. A transcript of it in a contemporary script in the British Museum, Harleian MS. 6910, fol. 156 *b*, without author's name, supplies many readings which differ from the printed versions. These variations are often improvements and probably present the verse in the form that it left the writer's hand. For example, in Stanza 1, l. 6, the four lines read in the manuscript:—

> All my merry Jiggs are *cleane* forgot
> All *my layes of Love* are lost God wot
> Where my *joyes were firmly linkt by* love
> There *annoyes are* placst without remove.

This makes far better sense than Jaggard's :—

All my merry Iigges are *quite* forgot,
All *my Ladies loue* is lost (god wot)
Where *her faith was firmely fixt in* loue,
There *a nay is* plac't without remoue.

So again in Stanza 2, ll. 9–10, the manuscript reading :—

My sighes so deepe, *doth cause him* to weepe
With houling *noyse* to *wayle* my *woeful* plight.

is superior to Jaggard's :—

With sighes so deepe, *procures* to weepe,
In howling *wise*, to *see* my *dolefull* plight.

In the following line the MS. is probably right in reading 'through Arcadia grounds' for 'through hartles' or 'harcklesse' of the printed copies. In Stanza 3, l. 4, 'nymphs looke peeping' is better than any of the printed readings (i. e. 'back creeping', 'blacke peeping', or 'backe peeping'). Finally, in l. 7,

Alle our evening sportes from greenes are fled

is more pictorial than :—

All our euening sport from vs is fled.[1]

No. XIX. Marlowe's lyric.

Shakespeare's tutor in tragedy, Marlowe, may be safely credited with the authorship of the familiar lyric 'Come live with me and be my love', which is the nineteenth piece in the miscellany, and stands fifth in the appendix of 'Sonnets To sundry notes of Musicke'. It is in four alternately riming stanzas. To it is appended a single stanza of like metre, entitled 'Loues answere'; this stanza has been assigned on good grounds to Sir Walter Raleigh.

The four stanzas of the substantive poem reappear in

[1] The last four lines are omitted from the Harleian MS.

England's Helicon, with the addition of two stanzas in the fourth and sixth places, and the whole is signed 'Chr. Marlow'. The presence of these two new stanzas, and the slight variations between the two texts at other points[1], indicate that different manuscripts were employed by the two compilers, and that the editor of *England's Helicon* did not borrow direct from *The Passionate Pilgrim*.[2]

Survival of the tune.

As in the case of the poem 'My flocks feed not', the air to

[1] For example, the two lines 1 and 20 in *England's Helicon* both open with the words 'Come liue with me', instead of with 'Liue with me' (line 1) or 'Then liue with me' (line 16), as in *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

[2] The lyric enjoyed great popularity in Shakespeare's day. Marlowe somewhat derisively quotes two lines in his *Jew of Malta*, where Ithamore addresses Bellamine:—

Thou in those groves, by Dis above,
Shalt live with me and be my love.

Shakespeare also introduces a stanza into the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, iii. 1. 17–29, where Sir Hugh Evans hums over the last two lines of the second stanza and the first two of the third. Sir Hugh sings:—

To shallow rivers to whose falls
Melodious birds sing madrigals.
There will we make our beds of roses
And a thousand fragrant posies.

There were numerous imitations of the song. One, entitled 'Another of the nature', in *England's Helicon* begins:—

Come live with me and be my deare
And we will revill all the yeare,
In plaines and groves, on hills and dales
Where fragrant ayre breeds sweetest gales.

Another by Dr. Donne was called 'The Bait', and opens thus:—

Come liue with me and be my love
And we will some new pleasures prove
Of golden sands and crystal brooks
With silken lines and silver hooks.

Cf. Donne's *Poems*, 1635, p. 39.

In his *Poste with a packet of Mad Letters*, 1637, 4to, Nicholas Breton attests the continuance of the piece's popularity:—'You shall heare the old song that you were wont to like well of, sung by the black browes with the cherrie-cheeke, under the side of the pide-cowe: "Come, live with me, and be my love": you know the rest, and so I rest.'

which the lyric was sung was very popular and still survives. A contemporary manuscript version, found by Sir John Hawkins, is given in Johnson and Steevens' edition of Shakespeare (ed. 1793, vol. iii, p. 402). A ballad, entitled 'Queen Elinor', which is printed in a contemporary anthology, *Strange Histories, or Songes and Sonets* (assigned to the ballad writer Thomas Deloney), has the heading 'To the tune of come live with me and be my love', and the air is given in the 1602 edition of the work now at Britwell.[1] One of the 'Lessons for the Lyra Viole' in a music-book of the day, Corkine's *Second booke of Ayres*, 1612, has, as its heading, the first line of the song; only the musical notes follow (G 2 recto–H recto).

Raleigh's 'Answer'.

The four-line stanza which follows 'Come live with me' in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and is called by Jaggard 'Loues answere', also reappears in *England's Helicon*. It is printed there with a single textual variation: *England's Helicon* reads in line 1 'If *all* the world', instead of 'If *that* the world'; but there are added five new stanzas and the whole is entitled 'The Nymphs Reply to the Shepherd'. In the printed type the initials 'S. W. R.' (i.e. 'Sir Walter Raleigh') are attached, but these letters were pasted over with a blank slip of paper in most published copies of *England's Helicon*, perhaps in deference to some exceptional protest on Sir Walter's part to the unauthorized inclusion of the piece in the anthology.

Walton's quotations.

To this pair of poems further interest attaches from their quotation (with some original additions) by Izaak

[1] The 1607 edition, which the Percy Society reprinted, mentions the tune (p. 28) without the musical notation. Several contemporary ballads in the Roxburghe Collection are described as written 'To the Tune of Live with me' (cf. Roxburghe Collection, ed. Chappell, i. 162–3, 205). Marlowe's lyric (in six stanzas) appeared as a broadside, headed 'A most Excellent Ditty of the Lover's promises to his beloved To a sweet new Tune called Live with me & be my Love', together with Raleigh's reply under the title 'The Ladies prudent Answer to her Love To the same Tune' (ibid. ii. 3).

Walton in the second chapter of his *Compleat Angler* (1653, pp. 66–7). Walton heads the first song 'The Milkmaid's Song' and describes it as 'that smooth song which was made by Kit Marlowe now at least 50 years ago'. Walton's version resembles that in *England's Helicon*, but to the six stanzas which figure there he added in the second (not in the first) edition of his *Compleat Angler* a seventh of his own invention.

The 'Answer', which Walton also cited in his *Compleat Angler*, he drew from *England's Helicon*, and gave it the new title 'The Milkmaid's Mother's Answer'. In the second edition of his *Compleat Angler* he added as in the former case a seventh stanza. Of the second poem Walton wrote that it 'was made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his younger days'. The two pieces, Walton adds, 'were old-fashioned poetry, but choicely good'.

No. XII. The lyric 'Crabbed age and youth', which fills the twelfth place in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, obtained little less popularity in Elizabethan England than 'Come live with me and be my love'. It was probably in print before Jaggard designed his miscellany. It forms with textual variations the first two stanzas of a long lyric of over one hundred lines in Deloney's *Garland of Good Will*. That anthology, which was of the normal type, was, according to Nashe's *Have with you to Saffron-Walden*, in existence in 1595.[1] But no earlier edition than that of 1604 is now extant. The *Garland of Good Will* was repeatedly reissued during the seventeenth century, and the song 'Crabbed age and youth'

[1] Nashe wrote in 1595 (cf. his *Works*, ed. McKerrow, iii. 84): 'Euen as *Thomas Deloney* the Balletting Silke-weauer hath rime inough for all myracles, & wit to make a *Garland of good will*.' Deloney died in 1600. Thomas Pavier, the publisher, received on March 1, 1602, an assignment of the copyright 'uppon condicon that yt be no others mans copie'; cf. Arber, iii. 202. Nevertheless Edward White published the edition of 1604.

was reprinted with frequent alterations and additions. Jaggard's version was again drawn from a 'private' copy other than that used by Deloney in any extant edition. Jaggard's text is here the better. Line 4 in Jaggard's text, 'Youth like summer braue, Age like winter bare,' is omitted by Deloney. In line 6 Jaggard reads 'Youth is nimble' for Deloney's 'Youth is wild', and in line 10 'my loue is young' for Deloney's 'my lord is young'. 'Crabbed age and youth' was set to music early, but the original air has not survived.[1]

No. XV.

'It was a Lording's daughter,' a ballad or song for music, opens the appended 'Sonnets To sundry notes of Musicke', and fills the fifteenth place in the miscellany. Nothing has been discovered respecting it. It narrates the struggle of a man of arms (an Englishman) with a tutor or man of learning for the hand of 'a Lording's daughter', with the result that 'art with armes contending was victor of the day'. It is in the vein of Deloney's ballads and may possibly be from his somewhat halting pen.

Nos. VII, X, XIII, XIV, and XVIII. (Poems in six-lined stanzas).

The remaining five poems, numbered respectively VII, X, XIII, XIV, XVIII, are all in six-lined stanzas, the metre of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*. They occupy ten of the thirty-one printed pages of the volume, and confirm the impression given by the four 'Venus and Adonis' sonnets, that Jaggard and Leake were anxious to bring their venture into close touch with Shakespeare's earliest poem. The metre is

[1] Dramatists make frequent reference to the song. William Rowley notes in his play *A Match at Midnight* (1633), how 'the Widdow and my sister sung both one song, and what was't but *Crabbed age and youth cannot live together?*' (Act v, Sc. 1 (4to), Sign. I 2, back). John Ford imitated the song in his *Fancies* (Act iv, Sc. 1) in the lines:—

Crabbed age and youth
Cannot jump together;
One is like good luck,
T'other like foul weather.

The piece was included in Percy's *Reliques* (ed. Wheatley, i. 237).

not peculiarly Shakespearean. It is constantly met with not merely in contemporary narrative poetry, but in ballads and lyrics of the popular anthologies, as well as in 'words' for madrigals and part-songs in song-books.[1] But Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* was the most notable example of its employment within Jaggard's and Leake's experience.

None of Jaggard's five poems in six-lined stanzas are met with in print elsewhere. All are pitched in a more or less amorous key, and treat without much individuality of the tritest themes of the Elizabethan lyrist.

No. VII ('Fair is my loue') is an indictment of a beautiful mistress's fickleness; No. X ('Sweet rose, faire flower') is an elegy on the premature death of a fair friend; No. XIII ('Beauty is but a vaine and doubtful good') is a lament on the evanescence of beauty; No. XIV ('Good night, good rest') is a lover's meditation at night and dawn; No. XVIII ('When as thine eye hath chose the dame') is an ironical lecture on the art of wooing. The sentiment and phraseology of each of these poems can be paralleled as easily as the metre. Greene, who wrote many songs in the six-line stanza, anticipates Jaggard's seventh and thirteenth poems in two lyrics which are inserted in two of his romances, respectively *Perimedes the Blacke-Smith* (1588) and *Alcida, Greenes Metamorphosis* (licensed for the press 1588). A song in the former romance begins with the same words as Jaggard's poem No. VII, viz. 'Fair is my loue', and continues in a like strain:—

> Faire is my loue for Aprill is her face,
> Hir louely brests September claimes his part,
> And lordly July in her eyes takes place,

[1] In John Farmer's *First set of English Madrigals*, which appeared in 1599 at the same time as Jaggard's volume, twelve of the seventeen numbers, and in Weelkes' *Madrigals in six parts*, which came out a year later, seven of the ten numbers, are in six-line stanza.

But colde December dwelleth in her heart;
Blest be the months, that sets my thoughts on fire,
Accurst that Month that hindreth my desire.[1]

In Greene's second tract, *Alcida*, the verses beginning:—

Beauty is vaine, accounted but a flowre,
Whose painted hiew fades with the summer sunne.[2]

adumbrate Jaggard's thirteenth poem:—

Beauty is but a vaine and doubtful good . . .
A flower that dies when first it 'gins to bud.[3]

Again, the ironical advice to the wooer, which constitutes Jaggard's poem XVIII, is little more than a repetition of passages in two poems in the six-lined stanza, which were already in print.

[1] Greene's Works, ed. Grosart, vii. 90. [2] Ib. ix. 87.

[3] There are endless Elizabethan poems in the six-lined stanza which are in sentiment and phrase as well as metre hardly distinguishable from this effort of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The stanza numbered xxxiii in the 'Sonnets' appended to J. C.'s *Alcilia*, which appeared in 1595, runs:—

Though thou be fair, think Beauty but a blast!
A morning's dew! a shadow quickly gone!
A painted flower, whose colour will not last!
Time steals away, when least we think thereon.
Most precious time! too wastefully expended;
Of which alone the sparing is commended.

Cf. the sonnet attributed to Surrey in *Tottel's Miscellany* (p. 10), headed 'The frailtie and hurtfulness of beautie', which opens:—

Brittle beautie, that nature made so fraile,
Wherof the gift is small, and short the season.

In Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1602) was first printed 'An invective against love', which contains the stanza:—

Beauty the flower so fresh, so fair, so gay,
So sweet to smell, so soft to touch and taste,
As seems it should endure, by right, for aye,
And never be with any storm defaced;
But when the baleful southern wind doth blow,
Gone is the glory which it erst did show.

Davison assigns this poem to the unidentified contributor 'A. W.', and it was appropriated by the publisher of the second edition of *England's Helicon* (1614).

In 'Willobie his Auisa' (1594), canto 44, one 'W. S.' is represented as giving in the same metre identical counsel to a love-lorn friend 'H. W.':—

Apply her still with dyuers thinges
(For giftes the wysest will deceave)
Sometymes with gold, sometymes with ringes,
No tyme nor fit occasion leaue,
Though coy at first she seeme and wielde,
These toyes in tyme will make her yielde.

The poem in *The Passionate Pilgrim* varies little:—

And to her will frame all thy waies,
Spare not to spend, and chiefly there,
Where thy desart may merit praise
By ringing in thy Ladies eare,
The strongest castle, tower and towne,
The golden bullet beats it downe.[1]

A contemporary MS. of No. XVIII.

These five poems were certainly derived by Jaggard from 'private' manuscripts, and doubtless many transcripts were in existence in his day in unpublished poetical collections. Only one of these lyrics (No. XVIII) has survived in a contemporary 'copy', but the variations from Jaggard's version are numerous enough to show that he used another and less satisfactory manuscript. Before 1790 Dr. Samuel Lysons lent a contemporary manuscript poetic miscellany, containing a different version, to Malone, who in his edition of 1790 adopted many of its readings. At the sale of Benjamin

[1] 'A Sonnet' (in seven stanzas of six ten-syllabled lines) in the anthology known as Deloney's *Strange Histories or Song of Sonettes* (probably published in 1595, although no earlier edition than that of 1602 is extant) deals in much the same temper with the same topic:—

Next, shew thyself that thou hast gone to schoole,
Commende her wit although she be a foole.
Speake in her prayse, for women they be proud;
Looke what she sayes for trothe must be aloude.
If she be sad, look thou as sad as shee;
But if that she be glad, then joy with merry glee.

Heywood Bright's library in 1884, the MS. passed to Halliwell, who gave in his Folio Shakespeare, vol. xvi, p. 466, a facsimile of the 'very early MS. copy of this poem with many variations'. Halliwell dated the compilation of the poetical miscellany 'some years before the appearance of *The Passionate Pilgrim*'. In the MS., stanzas 3 and 4 change places with stanzas 5 and 6.

For Jaggard's unintelligible l. 4,

As well as fancy (*partyall might*),

the MS. reads: As well as fancy, *partial like.*

In line 12 of the MS.,

And set *thy* person forth to *sell*

is an improvement on Jaggard's

And set *her* person forth to *sale.*

In l. 14 the MS. reads:—

Her cloudy lookes will *clear ere* night

for Jaggard's

Her cloudy lookes will *calme yer* night.

In ll. 43–6 the MS. gives:—

Think, women love to *match* with men,
And not to live so like a saint:
Here is no heaven; *they* holy *then*
Begin, *when* age *doth* them attaint.

Jaggard's less satisfactory version runs:—

Thinke Women still to *striue* with men,
To sinne and neuer for to saint,
There is no heauen (*by* holy *then*)
When time with age *shall* them attaint.

Finally, in line 51 the MS. reads:—

She will not stick to ringe my eare

and Jaggard reads:—

She will not stick to round me on th' are.

No. XIII. Supposititious MS.

The poem No. XIII ('Beauty is but a vaine') was printed in 1750 in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xx, p. 521, under the title 'Beauty's Value by Wm. Shakespeare. From a corrected MS.' This was reprinted with what was claimed to be greater accuracy in the same periodical ten years later (vol. xxx, p. 39). The variations are not important, and have a too pronouncedly eighteenth-century flavour to establish their pretension to greater antiquity. In line 7, where Jaggard reads:—

And as goods lost, are *seld or never* found.

the *Gentleman's Magazine* manuscript reads:—

As goods *when* lost are *wond'rous* seldom found.

To improve the rhymes 'refresh' and 'redress' (at the end of lines 8 and 10 respectively), the 'corrected' manuscript reads awkwardly 'excite' in the first case and 'unite' in the second. There can be little question that search must be made elsewhere for any contemporary illustration of this poem of Jaggard's miscellany.

Theory of Barnfield's authorship of the poems in six-line stanzas.

The authorship of these five poems, which Jaggard first printed from manuscript, can in the present state of the evidence be matter for conjecture only. It is very possible that they are from Barnfield's pen. Barnfield was a voluminous writer, and not all his verse found its way to the printing-press. Much of it circulated in manuscript only, and is still extant in that medium.[1] It is probable, moreover,

[1] Dr. Grosart printed in full, in his edition of Barnfield's *Poems* for the Roxburghe Club, a 'manuscript' commonplace book bearing Barnfield's autograph, which was in the library of Sir Charles Isham of Lamport Hall. The volume contained some previously unprinted poems from Barnfield's pen together with transcripts of others' work. The first page gives, without indication of its

that much of it was entrusted to William Jaggard's brother John, who printed an ample but by no means exhaustive selection from it in 1598. Barnfield's imitative habit of mind rendered the six-lined stanza, which Shakespeare had glorified in his *Venus and Adonis*, a favourite instrument, and the internal quality of the many six-line stanzas in *The Passionate Pilgrim* justifies the theory that Barnfield was their author, at any rate of those of them that are in a serious vein.

IV

Popularity of Jaggard's miscellany.

It may be assumed, although the indications are obscure, that despite its equivocal claims to respectful notice, Jaggard's venture met with success. There is small doubt that the compiler of the popular anthology called *England's Helicon*, which appeared next year, was influenced by the example of the publisher of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The former printed four of Jaggard's 'Sonnets To sundry notes of Musicke', viz. XVI, 'On a day, alack the day', from *Love's Labour's Lost*; XVII, Barnfield's 'My flocks feed not'; XIX, Marlowe's lyric with the reply; XX, Barnfield's 'As it fell upon a day'. Although the editor of *England's Helicon* depended in most cases on different transcripts, the coincidence of his choice and the order which he followed in introducing these four pieces to his reader can hardly be regarded as fortuitous.

The lost second edition.

No copy of a second edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* is extant, and there is no clue to the date of its issue.[1] The poet Drummond of Hawthornden noted that he read the book in 1606, possibly in a second edition. A third edition

The third edition.

source, a Latin quotation from Ovid's *Fasti*, ii. 771–4, which describes Tarquin's admiration of Lucrece's beauty. Shakespeare's poem of *Lucrece* no doubt suggested to Barnfield the transcription of these lines.

[1] See p. 48, *infra*.

was undertaken by the unabashed Jaggard in 1612, when his prosperity was secure and he had become his own printer.

Jaggard's additions to the text.

Exceptional interest attaches to the issue of the third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* in 1612. The volume was now printed at William Jaggard's own press, which he had controlled only since 1605. Jaggard in this reissue bettered his earlier instruction. He enlarged the text to more than twice its original length by the addition of two somewhat long narrative poems in which Shakespeare had no hand. The third edition, in fact, grossly exaggerated the offence of the first in assigning to Shakespeare work by other hands. The additions to the third edition were from *Troia Britanica*, a collection of poetry by a well-known writer, Thomas Heywood. That volume Jaggard had himself published in 1609, contrary, as would appear, to the wish of the author. Heywood proved less complaisant than those whose name and rights were ignored in the first edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

Heywood's *Troia Britanica* 1609.

Jaggard obtained the licence for the publication of Heywood's *Troia Britanica* on December 5, 1608, on somewhat peculiar conditions. The entry in the Stationers' Company's Register described the work, without mention of Heywood's name, as 'A booke called *Brytans Troye*', and the exceptional provision was added 'that yf any question or trouble growe hereof. Then he [i. e. Jaggard] shall answere and discharge yt at his owne losse and costes'.[1] When the book duly appeared, Heywood did not question Jaggard's right to publish it, and no strictly legal 'question or trouble' seems to have 'grown thereof'. But Heywood bitterly complained of Jaggard's typographical carelessness. He requested Jaggard to insert a list of 'the infinite faults escaped'. But Jaggard was obdurate and insolently retorted (according to Heywood's statement) that

[1] Arber, iii. 397.

'hee would not publish his owne disworkemanship, but rather let his owne fault lye upon the neck of the author'.[1]

Three years later, in 1612, Jaggard inflicted on Heywood the further indignity of filching from *Troia Britanica* translations in verse of two of Ovid's Epistles, which were first published in that volume. He added them to the third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, all the contents of which Jaggard continued to assign on the title-page to Shakespeare's pen. Heywood was in no temper to suffer this new injury at Jaggard's hands in silence. In an address to another printer, Nicholas Okes, who published for him his prose *Apology for Actors*, in 1612 (soon after the appearance of the third edition of Jaggard's 'Passionate Pilgrim'), Heywood not only exposed Jaggard's misconduct, but claimed to have interested Shakespeare in the matter. His protest was issued (he declared) in the great dramatist's name as well as in his own. Heywood's words run: 'Here, likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done me in that worke [i. e. *Troia Britanica*] by taking the two epistles of Paris to Helen, and Helen to Paris, and printing them in a lesse volume (i. e. *The Passionate Pilgrim* of 1612) under the name of another, [i. e. Shakespeare], which may put the world in opinion I might steale them from him, and hee, to doe himselfe right, hath since published them in his owne name: but, as I must acknowledge my lines not worth his [i. e. Shakespeare's] patronage under whom he [i. e. Jaggard] hath publisht them, so the author, I know, much offended with M. Jaggard that altogether unknowne to him presumed to make so bold with his name.'

Shakespeare's alleged protest.

Jaggard was not, as we have seen[2], the only publisher who had made 'so bold with' Shakespeare's name as to put it

[1] Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612, Sh. Soc. 1841, p. 62.
[2] See p. 21, note 1.

to books in which he had no hand. But it was characteristic of Shakespeare to ignore the wrongs which Jaggard and Jaggard's colleagues in trade were in the habit of doing himself and other authors. Heywood's statement offers the only extant evidence that Shakespeare deigned to notice the nefarious practices in which the state of the law of copyright enabled Jaggard and his like to indulge with impunity. But Heywood's exposure was not without effect. Jaggard stayed the issue of the volume with the statement on the title-page that all the contents were 'By W. Shakespeare'. He cancelled that title-page and inserted in unsold copies a new one from which Shakespeare's name was expunged. No name was suffered to take the vacant place.

The text of 1612.

Save for the expansion of the simple title of *The Passionate Pilgrim* for mercantile purposes by the addition of the words 'or Certaine Amorous Sonnets betweene Venus and Adonis' and a notification of the inclusion of the translation of Ovid's Epistles, with a change of imprint and date, the old text reappeared in 1612 with very small alteration. The spelling and punctuation were slightly improved (cf. I. 4, 'Spirit' for 'sperite'; XIV. 19, 'ditty' for 'ditte'; 27, 'each' for 'ech'; XVIII. 14, 18, 'ere' for 'yer'; 20, 'thee' for 'the'). But not all the misprints were removed. One or two new ones were introduced (cf. VIII. 7, 'Spencer' for 'Spenser'). The greater number of the pages were left blank as before.[1]

The reprint of 1640.

Once again *The Passionate Pilgrim* was reprinted in the seventeenth century, just twenty-four years after Shakespeare's death. The 'Poems: Written by Wil. Shake-speare. Gent.' of 1640 contains not merely Shakespeare's Sonnets in a different order from that followed in the previous edition of 1609, but scattered through these rearranged Sonnets are all

[1] See p. 14, *supra*.

the pieces in the 1612 edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, including Heywood's *Epistles*, and there are further poems by other pens. The poems of *The Passionate Pilgrim* are mingled with the sonnets and miscellaneous poems most capriciously. Each item is given a distinguishing title.[1]

Lintott's reprint of 1709.

The Passionate Pilgrim was not published again during the seventeenth century. In 1709 it was reprinted from the first edition of 1599 by Bernard Lintott in his 'A Collection of Poems, viz. I. Venus and Adonis; II. The Rape of Lucrece; III. The Passionate Pilgrim; IV. Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Musick by Mr. William Shakespeare'. In this volume *The Passionate Pilgrim* and the 'Sonnets to

[1] The three opening sonnets of Jaggard's miscellany, which appear in the 1640 volume in Jaggard's order and in Jaggard's text, are preceded by thirty-one of Shakespeare's sonnets of 1609. The first is headed 'False beleafe', the second 'A Temptation', and the third 'Fast and loose'. After three more of the sonnets of 1609, there come poems 4 and 5 of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, headed respectively 'A sweet provocation' and 'A constant vow'. These are separated by four more sonnets from Jaggard's poems 6 and 7, which are headed respectively 'Cruell Deceit' and 'The unconstant Lover'. Three more sonnets introduce consecutively Jaggard's Nos. 8 and 9, called respectively 'Friendly concord' and 'Inhumanitie'. After a set of five sonnets come from *The Passionate Pilgrim* Nos. 11, 'Foolish disdaine'; 12, 'Ancient Antipathy'; and 13, 'Beauties valuation'. Two sonnets intervene before No. 10 of Jaggard's series is reached under the title of 'Love's Losse'. Another five sonnets of 1609 appear before Jaggard's No. 14, 'Loath to depart', and yet nine sonnets more before his Nos. 15, 'A Duel'; 16, 'Love-sicke'; 17, 'Love's labour's lost'; and 18, 'Wholesome counsell'. Seventeen sonnets of 1609 cut these off from No. 20, 'As it fell upon a day,' which is called 'Sympathizing love'. The remaining poem, No. 19, of Jaggard's volume (Marlowe's lyric) is separated altogether from its companions by the insertion of sixty-four sonnets; of *The Tale of Cephalus and Procris*; of two more of Shakespeare's sonnets; of five poems by another hand; of *A Lover's Complaint*, and of Heywood's two 'Epistles'. Jaggard's poem, No. 19, is then printed under the title of 'The Passionate Shepheard to his love', as in *England's Helicon*; the text follows that anthology and fills twenty-four lines; the reply follows also in the amplified text of *England's Helicon*, and is succeeded by a poem in imitation of Marlowe from the same source. The remaining twenty-two poems of the volume of 1640 have no concern with *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

Sundry Notes' were each introduced by a separate title-page, of which the imprint ran: 'London, Printed in the year 1599.' In the preliminary 'Advertisement' Lintott wrote: 'The Remains of Mr. William Shakespeare call'd *The Passionate Pilgrime* & Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Musick (at the end of this collection) came into my hands in a little stitch'd Book, printed at *London* for *W. Jaggard* in the year 1599.' Lintott's 'Collection' was reissued next year, with the addition of a second volume supplying a reprint of the original 1609 edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* and *A Lover's Complaint*. The new title-page was curiously inaccurate as to the date of the first edition of Shakespeare's narrative poems and of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The words ran: 'A Collection of Poems in Two Volumes: being all The miscellanies of Mr. William Shakespeare, which were Publish'd by himself in the year 1609, and now correctly Printed from these Editions.' There were at least two impressions of this 'Collection in Two Volumes'. In one of these impressions *The Passionate Pilgrim* and 'Sonnets to Sundry Notes' bore the correct date of 1599. In another impression, the title-pages were reprinted with the date changed to 1609. There is no ground for assuming that Lintott knew of an edition, belonging to that year, of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, or of the appended 'Sonnets to Sundry Notes'. The date was invented to agree with that of the first edition of the *Sonnets*.

Gildon's reprint of 1710.

Another collection of Shakespeare's poems followed independently in 1710. This edition formed an unauthorized 'Seventh' or supplementary volume to Rowe's more or less critical edition of Shakespeare's Plays of 1709. This supplement was undertaken by Edmund Curll, the notorious printer-publisher, with the editorial assistance of Charles Gildon. Rowe's publisher, Jacob Tonson, had

no hand in the venture. The contents included, besides *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, miscalled 'Tarquin and Lucrece', the whole of the Poems of 1640, with its clumsy commingling of the *Sonnets*, *The Passionate Pilgrim*, *A Lover's Complaint*, and generous extracts from the work of Heywood and others. Gildon bestowed on this part of his volume (pp. 111–256) the alternative titles of 'His [i.e. Shakespeare's] Miscellany Poems' or 'Poems on Several Occasions'. In a critical essay on Shakespeare's poems (p. 449) he taunted Lintott's 'wise editor' with the 'absurd incoherency' of his very accurate reprint of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The censorious Gildon, ignorant of the existence of the original editions of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, denounced Lintott for throwing 'into a heap without any distinction', 'a medley of Shakespeare's [verses] tho' they are on several and different subjects.' A factitious value attached in Gildon's eyes to the capricious order which was allotted to the contents of *The Passionate Pilgrim* in the 1640 edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*, and to the separate titles which were there bestowed on the scattered items.

Later eighteenth-century reprints of the 1640 edition.

Gildon's editorial procedure was followed in five succeeding reissues of Shakespeare's *Poems* which were undertaken during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. The *Passionate Pilgrim* was published with the *Sonnets* and the usual mass of irrelevant verse, in the collection of the poems 'revised by Dr. Sewell', which formed a seventh volume supplementary to Pope's edition of the plays in 1725; in a concluding seventh volume of an edition of Shakespeare's Plays which appeared in Dublin in 16mo in 1771; in the concluding ninth volume of 'Bell's Edition of Shakespeare's Plays' (London, 1774, 12°), as well as in two independent publications: 'Poems on several occasions by

Shakespeare' (London, without date, 1760? 12°) and 'Poems written by Mr. William Shakespeare' (London, 1778, 8°). No notice was taken of any of Shakespeare's poems in the editions of his plays by Theobald, Hanmer, Johnson, Warburton, and Steevens (1778). *The Passionate Pilgrim* was not restored to its independence till Malone edited Shakespeare's poems in 1780 in his 'Supplement' to the 1778 edition of Shakespeare's Plays, where *The Passionate Pilgrim* fills pp. 709–36.[1] Malone omitted the two sonnets by Shakespeare and the nineteenth poem on the ground that that piece was by Marlowe; he added two pieces which were not in the original edition—the two stanzas of the song:

Malone's restoration of the text of the original edition.

Take, oh! take those lips away

(of which the first stanza in *Measure for Measure* is alone by Shakespeare, the second being by Fletcher) and the enigmatic poem on *The Phoenix and Turtle*, which was assigned to Shakespeare in Chester's 'Loves Martyr', 1601. Both these pieces had been included in the *Poems* of 1640 and the many reissues of that volume. Of the eighteen pieces which Malone printed from the original edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* he remarked: 'Most of these little pieces bear the strongest marks of the hand of Shakespeare,' though he admitted the possibility that one or two 'might have crept in that were

[1] At page iv of his Advertisement in Vol. i Malone wrote:—'Though near a century and a half has elapsed since the death of Shakespeare, it is somewhat extraordinary, that none of his various editors should have attempted to separate his genuine poetical compositions from the spurious performances with which they have been so long intermixed, or taken the trouble to compare them with the earliest editions. Shortly after his death, a very incorrect impression of his poems was issued out, which in every subsequent edition has been implicitly followed.' Dr. Richard Farmer first pointed out in his 'Essay on Shakespeare's Learning' (1766) that Heywood and not Shakespeare was the translator of Ovid's Epistles and of 'all the other translations which have been printed in the modern editions of the Poems of Shakespeare'.

not the production of our author'. In most of the editions of Shakespeare subsequent to the appearance of Malone's 'Supplement' *The Passionate Pilgrim* has been accorded an independent place at the end of the poems.

V

Census of copies.

The Passionate Pilgrim reached three editions. Of the second no copy is known, and of the first and third only two in each instance are traceable. Of these four copies, two are in public libraries and two are in private hands. All are in England.

First Edition, 1599. Description.

The first edition was issued in very small octavo. The signatures run A–D 8 in eights. Only A, A 3, A 4, B, B 3, C, D are noted. The leaves number thirty-two. There is no pagination. The first leaf, in the middle of which appears the signature A, and the last leaf, which is unsigned, are blank. A curious feature of the book is the circumstance that of the twenty-eight leaves which contain the text, twenty-five bear type on one side—the front side—only. The three concluding leaves, D 5, D 6, D 7, alone have type on both sides. On C 3 appears a second title:—SONNETS | To sundry notes of Musicke. | AT LONDON | Printed for W. Iaggard, and are | to be sold by W. Leake, at the Grey-|hound in Paules Churchyard. | 1599. | As in many other small books of poetry of the period, each page of print has two linear ornaments—one above and another below the type.

Of the two extant copies of the first edition of 1599, one is in the Capell collection at Trinity College, Cambridge, and the other in the Christie Miller Library at Britwell.

No. I. The Capell copy, 1599.

The Capell copy measures $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$. Its state is somewhat dirty, and the date on the second title-page has been

First Edition, 1599.

cut off by the binder. With it is bound up the 1620 edition of *Venus and Adonis*, which it follows. There is an old MS. note at the end of the book running, 'Not quite perfect, see 4 or 5 leaves back: so it cost me but 3 Halfpence.' This copy, which once belonged to 'Honest Tom Martin' of Palgrave, the historian of Thetford (1697–1771), has his autograph signature. It was reproduced in photo-lithography in 1883 in the Shakspere-Quarto facsimiles, No. 10, with an introduction by Professor Dowden.

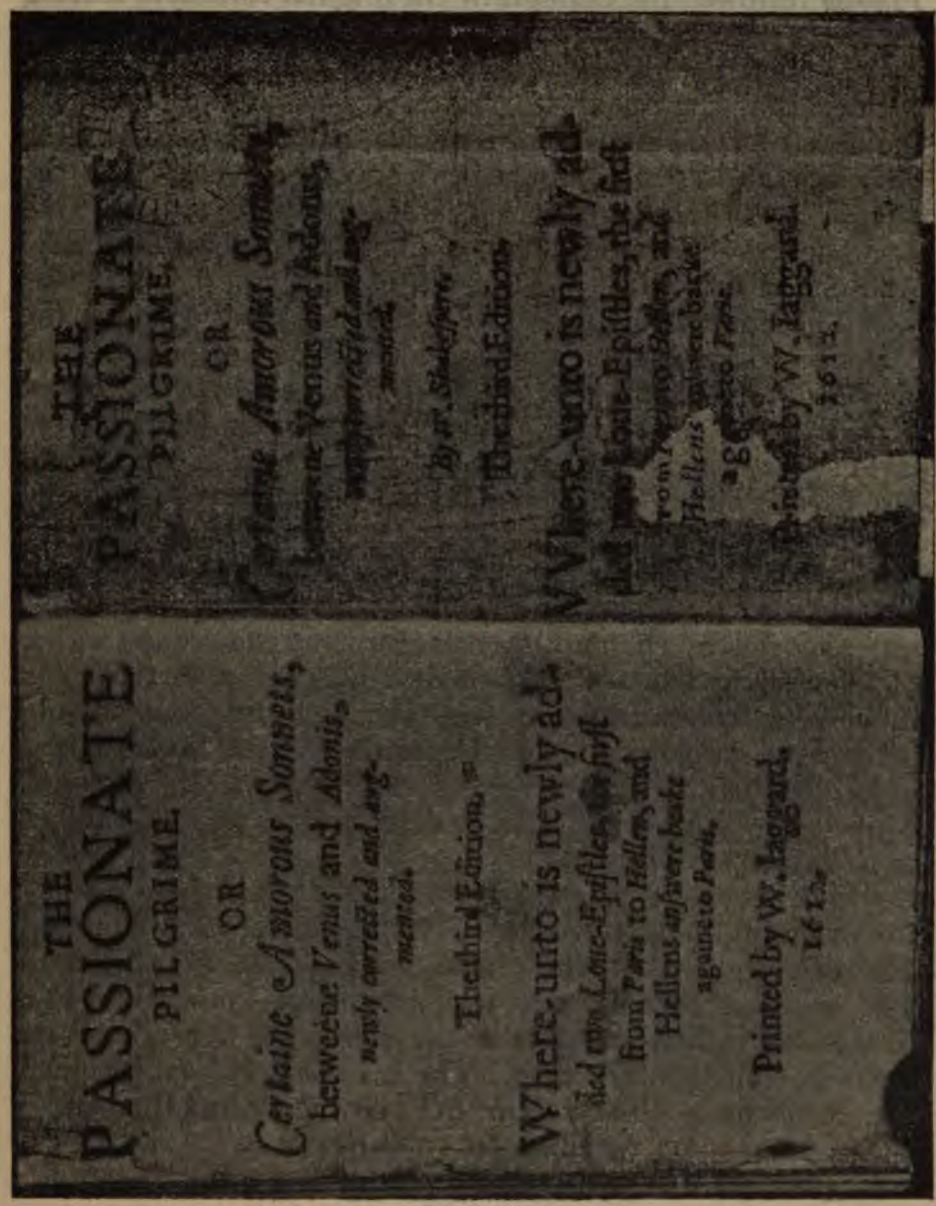
No. II. The Britwell copy, 1599.

The Britwell copy was purchased in 1895 by Mr. Wakefield Christie Miller (died three years later) from Sir Charles Isham, Bart., of Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire. This copy was discovered by Mr. Charles Edmonds in an upper lumber-room at Lamport Hall in September, 1867. It is bound in a vellum cover, probably of contemporary date, between two other poetical tracts, viz.:—William Leake's 1599 edition of *Venus and Adonis*, of which no other copy is known, and an undated edition of '*The Epigrammes and Elegies by I. D. and C. M.*' (i.e. Sir John Davies and Christopher Marlowe). This copy measures $4\frac{5}{8}'' \times 3\frac{1}{8}''$ and is in very clean condition. It is here reproduced in photographic facsimile for the first time by kind permission of Mrs. Christie Miller. A typed reproduction edited by Mr. Charles Edmonds was published in a limited edition of 131 copies, together with the two tracts with which it is bound up, in 1870.

Third Edition, 1612.

The third edition is enlarged to sixty-four leaves by the unwarranted addition of Heywood's rendering of two of Ovid's Epistles. The title runs:—THE | PASSIONATE | PILGRIME. | OR | *Certaine Amorous Sonnets*, | *betweene* Venus *and* Adonis, | *newly corrected and aug-* | *mented.* | *By W. Shakespere.* | The third Edition. | Where-unto is newly ad-|ded two Loue-Epistles, the first | from *Paris* to *Hellen*, and *Hellens* answere backe againe to *Paris*. | Printed by W. Iaggard. 1612.

The text of *The Passionate Pilgrim* was set up again with small alteration. Rather more italic type was used in the new composition. The signatures of the enlarged volume ran from A–H 8 in eights. The first and last leaves were blank,


THE
PASSIONATE
PILGRIME.
OR
Certaine Amorous Sonnets,
betweene Venus and Adonis,
newly corrected and augmented.
By W. Shakespeare.
The third Edition.
Where-unto is newly added
Printed by W. Iaggard.
1612.

THIRD EDITION, 1612.

and there was no pagination. The reprint of *The Passionate Pilgrim* followed the example of the original edition in leaving the *verso* of the leaves blank through the first three sheets A–C. Sheet D was differently treated. The type was set on both sides of the page, with the result that the text ended on the *verso* of D5, and did not reach as in the first edition the *verso* of D7. The second title reappears on C3, with the altered date 1612, thus:—

Sonnets: To sundry Notes of Musicke [scroll device] At London Printed by W. Iaggard 1612.

No. III. Bodleian copy, 1612.

The Bodleian copy, which measures $4\frac{7}{8}'' \times 3\frac{1}{16}''$, is in the Malone collection. It is numbered Malone 328, and bears a manuscript note signed 'E. M.' and dated October 22, 1785. Malone there points out that Heywood's translations from Ovid were generally assumed to be by Shakespeare until Dr. Farmer noted their true authorship in 1766. The copy is peculiar in having two title-pages, of which one has the words *By W. Shakespere*, in the central space, and the other is without them. There is no question that Shakespeare's name was removed by the publisher Jaggard, at the request either of Shakespeare or of Heywood, and that the title-page bearing Shakespeare's name was cancelled and another substituted to accompany late impressions of the book. By a happy accident the two titles survive together in Malone's copy. The title which lacks Shakespeare's name is not known to be extant anywhere else.

No. IV. The Loveday copy, 1612.

The second copy, which measures $4\frac{11}{16}'' \times 3\frac{1}{16}''$, belongs to Mr. John E. T. Loveday of Williamscote, near Banbury. The title-page has in the centre the words *By W. Shakespere*. The existence of this copy was only made known in 1882. It was originally bound in rough calf with five other rare tracts of contemporary date. *The Passionate Pilgrim* occupied the second place. The volume bore on the fly-leaf the words:

'e libris Jac: Merrick
e. coll. Tr: Oxon
1738'

The inscription is in the handwriting of the former owner,

James Merrick, fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, who made some reputation in his day as a religious poet and classical and biblical scholar. Merrick died in 1769, within three days of his forty-ninth birthday, and left this, with many other scarce and valuable books, to his friend John Loveday of Williamscote (1711–89), great-grandfather of the present owner. The *Passionate Pilgrim* and the five accompanying tracts have been lately separately bound in morocco and are kept together in a case of the same material.[1] THIRD EDITION, 1612.

[1] Mr. Loveday, who carefully described his copy of *The Passionate Pilgrim* and the rare tracts (originally bound with them) in *Notes and Queries* (Aug. 12, 1882), sixth ser. vol. vi, kindly gave me the opportunity of making a personal examination of them. The accompanying tracts are in the order in which they were originally bound together, as follows:—

1. The Picture of Incest Lively Portraicted in the Historie of Cinyras and Myrrha. By James Gresham. London Printed for R. A. 1626.

3. The Mirror of Martyrs, or the Life and death of that thrice valiant Capitaine, and most godly Martyr Sir John Oldcastle Knight Lord Cobham. Printed by V. S. for William Wood 1601.

4. The Kings Prophecie: or Weeping Joy. Expressed in a Poeme, to the Honor of Englands too great Solemnities. Jos: Hall London: Printed by T. C. for Symon Waterson. Reprinted for Roxburghe Club by Mr. J. E. T. Loveday.

5. Britain's Ida. Written by that Renowned Poet, Edmond Spencer. London: Printed for Thomas Walkley, and are to be sold at his shop at the Eagle and Child in Britaines Bursse. 1628.

6. John Marston's The Scourge of Villanie. Three Bookes of Satyres. Perseus. Nec scompros [*sic*] metuentia carmina, nec thus. At London. Printed by I. R., and are to be sold by John Busbie, in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Crane, 1598.

The last three tracts have linear ornaments at the top and bottom of each page of text, as in *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

A

THE PASSIONATE PILGRIME.

By W. Shakespeare.

AT LONDON
Printed for W. Iaggard, and are
to be sold by W. Leake, at the Grey-
hound in Paules Churchyard.
1599.

WHen my Loue ſweares that ſhe is made of truth,
I doe beleeue her (though I know ſhe lies)
That ſhe might thinke me ſome vntutor'd youth,
Vnskilfull in the worlds falſe forgeries.
Thus vainly thinking that ſhe thinkes me young,
Although I know my yeares be paſt the beſt:
I ſmiling, credite her falſe ſpeaking toung,
Outfacing faults in Loue, with loues ill reſt.
But wherefore ſayes my Loue that ſhe is young?
And wherefore ſay not I, that I am old?
O, Loues beſt habite is a ſoothing toung,
And Age (in Loue) loues not to haue yeares told.
Therfore Ile lye with Loue, and Loue with me,
Since that our faults in Loue thus ſmother'd be.

TWo Loues I haue, of Comfort, and Deſpaire,
That like two Spirits, do ſuggeſt me ſtill:
My better Angell is a Man (right faire)
My worſer ſpirite a Woman (colour'd ill.)
To winne me ſoone to hell, my Female euill
Tempteth my better Angell from my ſide,
And would corrupt my Saint to be a Diuell,
Wooing his purity with her faire pride.
And whether that my Angell be turnde feend,
Suſpect I may (yet not directly tell:
For being both to me: both, to each friend,
I gheſſe one Angell in anothers hell:
The truth I ſhall not know, but liue in doubt,
Till my bad Angell fire my good one out.

DId not the heauenly Rhetorike of thine eie,
Gainſt whom the world could not hold argumẽt,
Perſwade my hart to this falſe periurie:
Vowes for thee broke deſerue not puniſhment.
A woman I forſwore: but I will proue
Thou being a Goddeſſe, I forſwore not thee:
My vow was earthly, thou a heauenly loue,
Thy grace being gainde, cures all diſgrace in me.
My vow was breath, and breath a vapor is,
Then thou faire Sun, that on this earth doth ſhine,
Exhale this vapor vow, in thee it is:
If broken, then it is no fault of mine.
If by me broke, what foole is not ſo wiſe
To breake an Oath, to win a Paradiſe?

SWeet Cytherea, ſitting by a Brooke,
With young Adonis, lowely, freſh and greene,
Did court the Lad with many a lowely looke,
Such lookes as none could looke but beauties queen.
She told him ſtories, to delight his eares.
She ſhew'd him fauors, to allure his eie:
To win his hart, ſhe touch't him here and there,
Touches ſo ſoft ſtill conquer chaſtitie.
But whether vnripe yeares did want conceit,
Or he refuſde to take her figured proffer,
The tender nibler would not touch the bait,
But ſmile, and ieaſt, at euery gentle offer:
Then fell ſhe on her backe, faire queen, & toward
He roſe and ran away, ah foole too froward.

IF Loue make me forſworn, how ſhal I ſweare to loue?
O, neuer faith could hold, if not to beauty vowed:
Though to my ſelfe forſworn, to thee Ile conſtant proue,
thoſe thoghts to me like Okes, to thee like Oſiers bowed.
Studdy his byas leaues, and makes his booke thine eies,
where all thoſe pleaſures liue, that Art can comprehend:
If knowledge be the marke, to know thee ſhall ſuffice:
Well learned is that toung that well can thee commend,
All ignorant that ſoule, that ſees thee without wonder,
Which is to me ſome praiſe, that I thy parts admyre:
Thine eye Ioues lightning ſeems, thy voice his dreadfull thunder
which (not to anger bent) is muſick & ſweet fire.
Celeſtiall as thou art, O, do not loue that wrong:
To ſing heauens praiſe, with ſuch an earthly toung.

SCarſe had the Sunne dride vp the dewy morne,
And ſcarſe the heard gone to the hedge for ſhade:
When Cytherea (all in Loue forlorne)
A longing tariance for Adonis made
Vnder an Oſyer growing by a brooke,
A brooke, where Adon vſde to coole his ſpleene:
Hot was the day, ſhe hotter that did looke
For his approch, that often there had beene.
Anon he comes, and throwes his Mantle by,
And ſtood ſtarke naked on the brookes greene brim:
The Sunne look't on the world with glorious eie,
Yet not ſo wiſtly, as this Queene on him:
He ſpying her, bounſt in (whereas he ſtood)
Oh Iove (quoth ſhe) why was not I a flood?

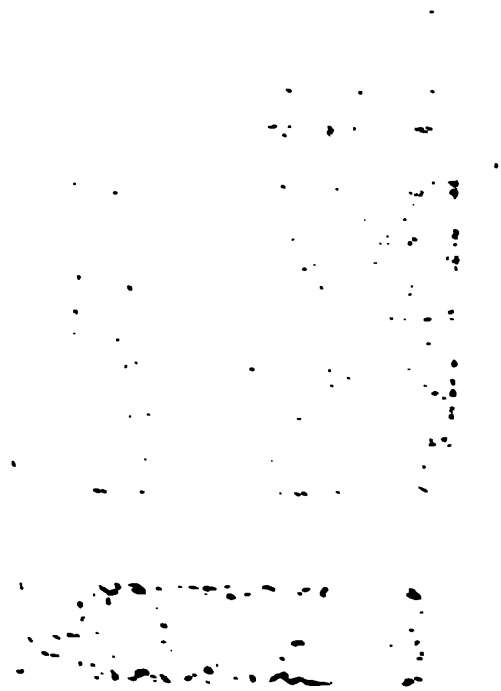
FAire is my loue, but not ſo faire as fickle.
Milde as a Doue, but neither true nor truſtie,
Brighter then glaſſe, and yet as glaſſe is brittle,
Softer then waxe, and yet as Iron ruſty:
A lilly pale, with damaske die to grace her,
None fairer, nor none falſer to deface her.

Her lips to mine how often hath ſhe ioyned,
Betweene each kiſſe her othes of true loue ſwearing:
How many tales to pleaſe me hath ſhe coyned,
Dreading my loue, the loſſe whereof ſtill fearing.
Yet in the mids of all her pure proteſtings,
Her faith, her othes, her teares, and all were ieaſtings.

She burnt with loue, as ſtraw with fire flameth,
She burnt out loue, as ſoone as ſtraw out burneth:
She fram d the loue, and yet ſhe foyld the framing,
She bad loue laſt, and yet ſhe fell a turning.
Was this a louer, or a Letcher whether?
Bad in the beſt, though excellent in neither.

IF Muſicke and ſweet Poetrie agree,
As they muſt needs (the Siſter and the brother)
Then muſt the loue be great twixt thee and me,
Becauſe thou lou'ſt the one, and I the other.
Dowland to thee is deere, whoſe heauenly touch
Vpon the Lute, doth rauiſh humane ſenſe:
Spenſer to me, whoſe deepe Conceit is ſuch,
As paſſing all conceit, needs no defence.
Thou lou'ſt to heare the ſweet melodious ſound,
That Phœbus Lute (the Queene of Muſicke) makes:
And I in deepe Delight am chiefly drownd,
When as himſelfe to ſinging he betakes.
One God is God of both (as Poets faine)
One Knight loues Both, and both in thee remaine.

FAire was the morne, when the faire Queene of loue,
Paler for ſorrow then her milke white Doue,
For Adons ſake, a youngſter proud and wilde,
Her ſtand ſhe takes vpon a ſteepe vp hill.
Anon Adonis comes with horne and hounds,
She ſilly Queene, with more then loues good will,
Forbad the boy he ſhould not paſſe thoſe grounds,
Once (quoth ſhe) did I ſee a faire ſweet youth
Here in theſe brakes, deepe wounded with a Boare,
Deepe in the thigh a ſpectacle of ruth,
See in my thigh (quoth ſhe) here was the ſore,
She ſhewed hers, he ſaw more wounds then one,
And blushing fled, and left her all alone.



Sweet Rose, faire flower, untimely pluckt, soone vaded,
Pluckt in the bud, and vaded in the spring.
Bright orient pearle, alacke too timely shaded,
Faire creature kilde too soon by Deaths sharpe sting:
Like a greene plumbe that hangs upon a tree:
And fals (through winde) before the fall should be.

I weepe for thee, and yet no cause I have,
For why: thou lefts me nothing in thy will.
And yet thou lefts me more then I did crave,
For why I craved nothing of thee still:
O yes (deare friend) I pardon crave of thee,
Thy discontent thou didst bequeath to me.

VEnus with Adonis ſitting by her,
Vnder a Mirtle ſhade began to wooe him,
She told the youngling how god Mars did trie her,
And as he fell to her, ſhe fell to him.
Euen thus (quoth ſhe) the warlike god embrac't me:
And then ſhe clipt Adonis in her armes:
Euen thus (quoth ſhe) the warlike god vnlac't me,
As if the boy ſhould vſe like louing charmes:
Euen thus (quoth ſhe) he ſeized on my lippes,
And with her lips on his did act the ſeizure:
And as ſhe fetched breath, away he skips,
And would not take her meaning nor her pleaſure.
Ah, that I had my Lady at this bay:
To kiſſe and clip me till I run away.

Crabbed age and youth cannot liue together,
Youth is full of pleaſance, Age is full of care,
Youth like ſummer morne, Age like winter weather,
Youth like ſummer braue, Age like winter bare.
Youth is full of ſport, Ages breath is ſhort,
Youth is nimble, Age is lame
Youth is hot and bold, Age is weake and cold,
Youth is wild, and Age is tame.
Age I doe abhor thee, Youth I doe adore thee,
O my loue my loue is young:
Age I doe defie thee. Oh ſweet Shepheard hie thee:
For me thinks thou ſtaies too long.

BEauty is but a vaine and doubtfull good,
A ſhining gloſſe, that vadeth ſodainly,
A flower that dies, when firſt it gins to bud,
A brittle glaſſe, that's broken preſently.
A doubtfull good, a gloſſe, a glaſſe, a flower,
Loſt, vaded, broken, dead within an houre.

And as goods loſt, are ſeld or never found,
As vaded gloſſe no rubbing will refreſh:
As flowers dead, lis withered on the ground,
As broken glaſſe no ſymans can redreſſe.
So beauty blemiſht once, for ever loſt,
In ſpite of phiſicke, painting, paine and coſt.

Good night, good reſt, ah neither be my ſhare,
She bad good night, that kept my reſt away,
And daft me to a cabben hangde with care:
To deſcant on the doubts of my decay.
Farewell (quoth ſhe) and come againe to morrow
Fare well I could not, for I ſupt with ſorrow.

Yet at my parting ſweetly did ſhe ſmile,
In ſcorne or friendſhip, nill I conſter whether:
T'may be ſhe ioyd to reaſt at my exile,
T'may be againe, to make me wander thither.
Wander (a word) for ſhadowes like my ſelfe,
As take the paine but cannot plucke the pelfe.

Lord

Lord how mine eies throw gazes to the Eaſt,
My hart doth charge the watch, the morning riſe
Doth ſcite each mouing ſcence from idle reſt,
Not daring truſt the office of mine eies.
While Philomela ſits and ſings, I ſit and mark,
And with her layes were tuned like the larke.

For ſhe doth welcome daylight with her ditte,
And driues away darke dreaming night:
The night ſo packt, I poſt vnto my pretty,
Hart hath his hope, and eies their wished ſight,
Sorrow changd to ſolace, and ſolace mixt with ſorrow,
For why, ſhe ſigh't, and bad me come to morrow.

Were I with her, the night would post too soone,
But now are minutes added to the houres:
To spite me now, each minute seemes an houre,
Yet not for me, shine sun to succour flowers.
Pack night, peepe day, good day of night now borrow,
Short night to night, and length thy selfe to morrow.

SONNETS

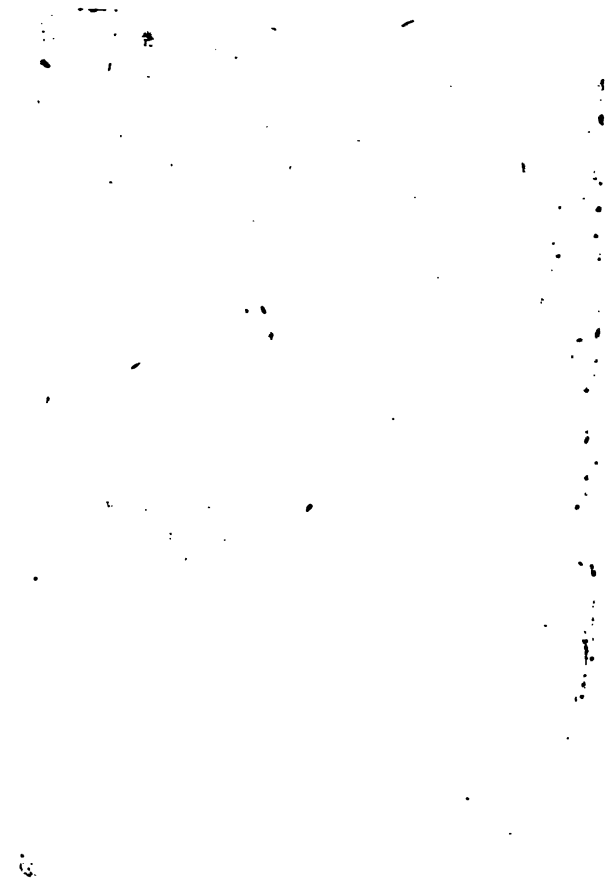
To ſundry notes of Muſicke.

AT LONDON
Printed for W. Iaggard, and are
to be ſold by W. Leake, at the Grey-
hound in Paules Churchyard.
1599.

IT was a Lordings daughter, the faireſt one of three
That liked of her maiſter, as well as well might be,
Till looking on an Engliſhman, the faireſt that eie could
Her fancie fell a turning.
Long was the combat doubtfull, that loue with loue did
To leaue the maiſter loue likeſe, or kill the gallant knight
To put in practiſe either, alas it was a ſpite
Vnto the ſilly damſell.
But one muſt be refuſed, more mickle was the paine,
That nothing could be vſed, to turne them both to gain
For of the two the truſty knight was wounded with diſ
Alas ſhe could not helpe it.
Thus art with armes contending, was victor of the day
Which by a gift of learning, did beare the maid away,
Then lullaby the learned man hath got the Lady gay,
For now my ſong is ended.

ON a day (alacke the day)
Loue whoſe month was euer May·
Spied a bloſſome paſſing fair,
Playing in the wanton ayre,
Through the veluet leaues the wind
All vnſeene gan paſſage find,
That the louer (ſicke to death)
Wiſht himſelfe the heauen·s breath,
Ayre (quoth he) thy cheekes may blowe
Ayre, would I might triumph ſo
But (alas) my hand hath ſworne,
Nere to plucke thee from thy throne,
Vow (alacke) for youth vnmeet,
Youth, ſo apt to pluck a ſweet,
Thou for whome Ioue would ſweare,
Iuno but an Ethiope were
And deny himſelfe for Ioue·
Turning mortall for thy Loue.

MY flocks ſeede not, my Ewes breed not,
My Rams ſpeed not, all is amis:
Loue is dying, Faithes defying,
Harts nenying, cauſer of this.
All my merry iigges are quite forgot,
All my Ladies loues is loſt (god wot)
Where her faith was firmely fixt in loue,
There a nay is plac't without remoue.
One filly croſſe, wrought all my loſſe,
O frowning fortune curſed fickle dame,
For now I ſee, inconſtancy,
More in women then in men remaine.



In blacke morne I, all feares ſcorne I,
Loue hath forlorne me, liuing in thrall:
Hart is bleeding, all helpe needing,
O cruell ſpeeding, fraughted with gall.
My ſhepheards pipe can ſound no deale,
My weathers bell rings dolefull knell,
My curtaile dogge that wont to haue plaid,
Plaies not at all but ſeemes afraid.
With ſighes ſo deepe, procures to weepe,
In howling wiſe, to ſee my dolefull plight,
How ſighes reſound through hartles ground
Like a thouſand vanquiſht men in blodie fight.

Cleare wels ſpring not, ſweete birds ſing not,
Greene plants bring not forth their die,
Heards ſtands weeping, flocks all ſleeping,
Nimphes blacke peeping fearefully:
All our pleaſure known to vs poore ſwaines
All our merrie meetings on the plaines,
All our euening ſport from vs is fled,
All our loue is loſt, for loue is dead,
Farewell ſweet loue thy like nere was,
For a ſweet content the cauſe of all my woe,
Poore Coridon muſt liue alone,
Other helpe for him I ſee that there is none.

When as thine eye hath choſe the Dame,
And ſtaide the deare that thou ſhouldſt ſtrike,
Let reaſon rule things worthy blame,
As well as fancy (partyall might)
Take counſell of ſome wiſer head,
Neither too young, nor yet vnwed.

And when thou comſt thy tale to tell,
Smooth not thy toung with filed talke,
Leaſt the ſome ſubtill practiſe smell,
A Cripple ſoone can finde a halt,
But plainly ſay thou louſt her well,
And ſet her perſon forth to ſale.

D

What though her frowning browes be bent
Her cloudy lookes will calme ere night,
And then too late ſhe will repent,
That thus diſſembled her delight.
And twice deſire ere it be day,
That which with ſcorne ſhe put away.

What though ſhe ſtrive to try her ſtrength,
And ban and braule, and ſay the nay:
Her feeble force will yeeld at length,
When craft hath taught her thus to ſay:
Had women beene ſo ſtrong as men
In faith you had not had it then.

And to her will frame all thy waies,
Spare not to ſpend, and chiefly there,
Where thy deſart may merit praiſe
By ringing in thy Ladies eare,
The ſtrongeſt caſtle, tower and towne,
The golden bullet beats it downe.

Serue alwaies with aſſured truſt,
And in thy ſute be humble true,
Vnleſſe thy Lady proue vniuſt,
Preaſe neuer thou to chuſe a new:
When time ſhall ſerue, be thou not ſlacke,
To proffer though ſhe put thee back.

The wiles and guiles that women worke,
Dſſembled with an outward ſhew:
The tricks and toyes that in them lurke,
The Cock that treads thē ſhall not know,
  Haue you not heard it ſaid full oft,
  A Womans nay doth ſtand for nought.

Thinke Women ſtill to ſtriue with men,
To ſinne and neuer for to ſtint,
There is no heauen(by holy then)
When time with age ſhall them attaint,
  Were kiſſes all the ioyes in bed,
  One Woman would another wed.

But ſoft enough,too much I feare,
Leaſt that my miſtreſſe heare my ſong,
She will not ſtick to round me on th'eare,
To teach my toung to be ſo long:
  Yet will ſhe bluſh,here be it ſaid,
  To heare her ſecrets ſo bewraid.

Liue with me and be my Loue,
And we will all the pleaſures proue
That hilles and vallies, dales and fields,
And all the craggy mountaines yeeld.

There will we ſit vpon the Rocks,
And ſee the Shepheards feed their flocks,
By thallow Riuers, by whoſe fals
Melodious birds ſing Madrigals.

There will I make thee a bed of Roſes,
With a thouſand fragrant poſes,
A cap of flowers, and a Kirtle
Imbroidered all with leaues of Mirtle.

A belt of ſtraw and Yuye buds,
With Coralll Claſps and Amber ſtuds,
And if theſe pleaſures may thee moue,
Then liue with me, and be my Loue.

Loues anſwere.

IF that the World and Loue were young,
And truth in euery ſhepheards toung,
Theſe pretty pleaſures might me moue,
To liue with thee and be thy Loue.

AS it fell vpon a Day,
In the merry Month of May,
Sitting in a pleasant shade,
Which a grove of Myrtles made,
Beasts did leape, and Birds did sing,
Trees did grow, and Plants did spring:
Every thing did banish mone,
Saue the Nightingale alone.
Shee (poore Bird) as all forlorne,
Leand her breast vp-till a thorne,
And there sung the dolefull'st Ditty,
That to heare it was great Pitty,
Fie, fie, fie, now would she cry
Teru, Teru, by and by:

That to heare her ſo complaine,
Scarce I could from teares refraine:
For her griefes ſo lively ſhowne,
Made me: thinke vpon mine owne.
Ah (thought I) thou mourn'ſt in vaine,
None takes pitty on thy paine:
Senſleſſe Trees, they cannot heare thee,
Ruthleſſe Beares, they will not cheere thee.
King Pandion, he is dead:
All thy friends are lapt in Lead.
All thy fellow Birds doe ſing,
Careleſſe of thy ſorrowing.

Whilſt as fickle Fortune ſmilde,
Thou and I, were both beguild.
Every one that flatters thee,
Is no friend in miſerie:
Words are eaſie, like the wind,
Faithfull friends are hard to find:
Every man will be thy friend,
Whilſt thou haſt wherewith to ſpend:
But if ſtore of Crownes be ſcant,
No man will ſupply thy want
If that one be prodigall,
Bountifull they will him call:
And with ſuch-like flattering,
Pitty but he were a King.

If he be addict to vice,
Quickly him, they will intice.
If too Women hee be bent,
They haue at Commaundement.
But if Fortune once doe frowne,
Then farewell his great renowne:
They that fawnd on him before,
Vse his company no more.
Hee that is thy friend indeede,
Hee will helpe thee in thy neede:
If thou sorrow, he will weepe:
If thou wake, hee cannot sleepe:
Thus of euery griefe, in hart
Hee, with thee, doeth beare a part.
These are certaine signes, to know
Faithfull friend, from flatt'ring foe.